Imprimatur,

PETRUS MEWS, Univers. Oxon.
Pro. Cancellarius.

Dat. Oxon. IV.
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Toleration
DISAPPROV'D
AND
CONDEMN'D

By the Authority, and Convincing Reasons of

I. *The Wise and Learned King* James, *and His Privy Council.* Anno Reg. 2do.

II. *The Honourable Commons Assembled in this present Parliament in their Votes &c.* Feb. 25. 1662.

III. *The Presbyterian Ministers in the City of* London *met at* Sion Colledge, Decemb. 18. 1645.

IV. *Twenty eminent Divines (most, if not all, of them Members of the late* Assembly*) in their Sermons before the two Houses of Parliament on Solemn Occasions.*

Faithfully Collected by *William Assheton*, Master in Arts, and Fellow of *Brazennose* Colledge in *Oxford.*

The Third Edition, Corrected and Enlarged, with an Additional Preface, wherein the nature of Persecution in general, and the unjust complaints of the Dissenting Parties concerning it in particular, are distinctly considered.

OXFORD,

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THE PREFACE
To the READER.

THough *Controverſies* in Religion are (hypothetically) *neceſſary*, (for ſo long as there is either Ignorance or Malice in the hearts of Men, there will be Differences in Opinion, and Animoſities amongſt them) yet a prudent well-regulated endeavour to moderate and aſſwage them, is a work truly *Chriſtian* and *Charitable*, however it may be fruitleſs, and unſucceſsfull in the *end*.

I do indeed heartily pray for it, yet dare not (as yet) promiſe my ſelf ſo good a return of theſe my poor Labours, as my *Brethrens* conviction; *Prejudice* and *Intereſt* (from which the deareſt of Gods *Children* are not wholly exempted) being not ſo eaſily remov'd; The utmoſt that I can now expect, (and which I hope they will have no cauſe to deny mee) is their favourable *Abſolution* from that common, yet unworthy Reflection of a *Temporizing Formaliſt*; it being my unfeigned *Judgment*, (after a ſtrict impartiall inquiry into the nature of ſuch Impoſitions) that my *Subſcription* to the *Doctrine* and *Diſcipline* of the *Church* of *England* is not only warrantable, but neceſſary.

'Tis not my buſineſs at preſent, to give a particular explication or defence of thoſe *Conſtitutions*, which my *Diſſenting Brethren* (both in Preſs and Pulpit) have thought fit to oppoſe; That task hath been with ſo much *Learning*

(and withall ſo much *Moderation*) performed (to omit others) by thoſe two worthy Inſtruments of Gods glory, Biſhop *Sanderſon*, and Mr. *Hoeker*, that I have often (and I think not without juſt cauſe) admired, that any man endowed (even) with common Abilities (ſuppoſing him of a meek and docile ſpirit) ſhould remain unſatisfyed, when he ſhall have but ſeriouſly peruſed the *Incomparable* writings of thoſe Pious and Learned Perſons.

The truth is (be their pretences never ſo plauſible) tis to me very plaine, that many of my *Brethren* both decline and dread *Conviction*; of which (amongſt other prooſes) this which I now mention is a pregnant Inſtance.

No ſooner had this ſmall *Pamphlet* appear'd in the *World*, but (as is uſuall in ſuch caſes, we being all deſirous of Novelties) it was generally ſought after, and peruſed, and (that I may return my *Thanks* for ſuch encouraging *Reception*) not much diſcommended. However my *Diſſenting Brethren* (from whom I have deſerv'd other acknowledgements) were not altogether ſo *obliging*; ſome of which (this is no Conjecture but a certain Truth) though they both knew the *Authors* Perſon, and had other endearments, ſufficient to have invited a much greater *Favour*, yet (having barely glanc'd upon the *Title*) very diſcourteouſly (not to ſay rudely) refus'd, even one ſingle peruſall of his humble *Petition*.

I muſt confeſs (though even contrary to my naturall *Inclination*) I was ſome little mov'd, to obſerve ſuch cauſeleſs and irrational *Perverſeneſs*. For though there be indeed ſmall Reaſon, that any man (in this *Scribling* Age) ſhould ſo little conſult either his *Time* or *Purſe*, as to think himſelf oblig'd to the peruſall of each impertinent *Pamphlet*; yet that ſo *ſmall* a Tract, ſo *inoffenſively* compoſed, when

when *presented* by the hand of a *Friend*, should not find a more favourable *Acceptance*, is such an *Vngentle-man* like thing, that had I the leasure or designe to play the *Satyrist*, it were no hard task methinks to explode so disingenious an instance.

But of this enough, if not (as some may judge) too much: Which yet is mention'd with this *Designe*, even to assure my *Reader*; That be his private *Opinion* what it will, (if he please to hazard some small portion of Time in the perusall of the following *Pamphlet*) he shall find nothing to *offend* him, but the *Evidence* of Truth, and downe-right *Conviction*.

I have one thing more to add, and that is an Objection; which being both plausible and common, I shall first *Propose*, (& that in the Person of some *Private* weake Christian) Secondly *Resolve* with as much clearnes as I am able.

The Objection is this.

There are indeed hot *Disputes* about these *Ceremonies*, and other Impositions in the Service of God: The *Tongues* and *Pens* of Learned men have for a long time been employed about them; the Arguments *pro* and *con*, both to defend and disprove them, are of great weight, and seemingly rationall: They are indeed both so plausible, that a Person of my rank and *Quality* (who not only wants the advantage of *Education*, but is also diverted from such inquiries by a particular *profession* which he is obliged to attend) may very well be perplexed how to behave himself: yet for my own part, I am much inclin'd to think; That these *Ceremonies* are very dangerous and unlawfull Things; and that becaufe I observe so many *Learned* and *Godly* Divines, who rather then they will *defile* themselves with such *Pollutions*, have not only, *suffered joyfully the spoyling of their goods*,

but also *Bonds* and *Imprisonments*, Banishments, and a Thousand other Indignities, to which a *persecuted* people is usually exposed; which certainly such *prudent* Persons would never have done for a few *Ceremonies* (the cause of all this mischief) were they such *innocent* Things, as the *Prelats*, and their Agents have endeavoured to perswade us.

This is the Objection; To which I Answer as followeth.

That which is said in the first Place of their *Learning* and *piety*, is not much to the purpose,

For *First*, such pretences (being very advantageous to any *Cause* whatsoever) are far more common then true. The (*a*) *Vulgar sort* (who are chiefly concerned in the Objection) are no competent *Judges* in these Cases, but much less in the former then the latter. But Secondly, granting them to be as *Learned* and *pious*, as their admiring *Proselytes* can fancy, or my *Charity* could wish them; yet we must remember, that the most *Learned* and *pious* are but *Men*, and therefore do but *know* in part, and are *sanctified* in part; and (as the learned (*b*) Bp. *Sanderson* expresseth it) *By the power of Godliness in their Hearts are no more secured from the possibility of falling into Error through Ignorance, then from the possibility of falling into Sin through Infirmity*; Which should therefore prompt us, (as the safest course) to guide our *Actions*, not by *Example*, which (through different Circumstances) is various, and uncertain, but by *Precept* which is sure and fixt; not to have mens *Persons* in such *Admiration*, as to embrace their Opinions and practises against the *Light* of *Scripture*, and *Right Reason*.

But *Thirdly*, if *Learning* and *Piety* must pass for *Arguments*

a) *Sic est vulgus; ex veritate pauca, ex opinione multa æstimat.* Cic. Orat. 1.

b) *Pref. before Serm. Sect. 6.*

ments (which yet they will not, it being no good Conſequence, ſuch a *Learned* and *Pious* Man, or ſuch a learned and pious *Company* of Men holds this *Opinion*, therefore 'tis true yet) I ſay if theſe muſt be urg'd for *Logick* (though Compariſons are harſh, and for the moſt part odious) I think it might eaſily appear (without diſparagement be it ſpoken) That there are as Honeſt, Religious, Zealous good men, that have willingly and chearfully *ſubmitted* to the *Church* of *England*, as the beſt of them all that have oppos'd the ſame.

Our Pious Fore-fathers (to whom under God, we owe the *purity* of our *Religion*, and *ſome* of which embrac'd a *Stake*) had more moderate apprehenſions, then the preſent Generation.

For, when the *Tyranny* of the *Church* of *Rome* had forc'd them to a *Separation* (and that in Obedience to God, who commands us neither to believe *Lies*, nor to commit *Sin*, neither of which they could avoid by continuing in *Communion* with her) though they left many of her *Ceremonies* (the number of them being great and burthenſome) yet they thought fit to retain ſome others of them, and that for *Order* and *Decency* in the *Service* of God.

If it be replyed (as uſually it is) That the *Reformation* (being carried on by thoſe that were ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἡμῖν, made of the ſame *Clay*, and ſubject to the like *paſſions* with others) was at beſt but ſmall and *imperfect*, it being beyond the *wit* and *power* of Man, either to foreſee, or remove all Inconveniences on a ſudden, and therefore, that it was the Duty of *After-Ages*, to perfect and *complete* what they had ſo happily *begun*, by removing this *Rubbiſh* out of the Houſe of God; To this I Anſwer,

That the *Topick* of Reformation, is too large for a ſhort

preface,

Preface, and beyond my *designe*; onely this *by* the *by*; I wish that Protestants (of whatsoever Perswasion) would be more sparing in their *Reflections* upon our first *Reformers*; for besides the advantage that is hereby given to the *Romish* Party, we ought to consider, That abuses are easier complain'd of, then redress'd; and possibly, had the men of this *Age* been in their stead, and under the same *Circumstances*, I do much question (if we may take an estimate by their late transactions) whether they would have brought the work to so good an Issue, as through Gods Blessing they then did. But no more of this.

Tis sufficient for my present purpose; That since the cause of their *Separation* from *Rome*, was to avoid her Pollutions, 'tis evident; That these *Ceremonies* which they thought fit to retaine, were (in their Judgment) no part of them, or any other way unlawful; the which, if my dissenting *Brethren* will but grant, (not to talke now off their *inexpedience*, of which, neither they nor I must be Judges) as it is a fair step to end our *Differences*, so it hence avoidably follows, That if some pious men have refus'd the *Ceremonies*, others of as great *piety* have *Conform'd* to them; if some *Learned* have disputed, others as *Learned* have defended, which may for ever Silence that Branch of the Objection, *viz.* The *Learning* and *Piety* of their Parties.

Nor is there much more *weight* in that other part of the Objection, (drawn from their *persecutions* and *sufferings*) which comes now to be considered.

A Pretence indeed very *plausible* and *popular*; for besides its subtle Insinuations upon a natural score, (we being all obliged by that common bond of Humanity, to compassionate those that are in any misery and trouble, witness those usual resentments even for a Thief upon the Gallows)

lows) it hath this farther advantage; That wherever in Scripture the word *Perſecution* is mentioned, and that either with ſome *Promiſe* annex'd for the ſupport of Gods people (who otherwiſe might deſpond under ſuch gloomy diſpenſations) or of ſome Judgment denounced, to reſtrain the fury of their Perſecutors: I ſay, whereſoever ſuch *paſſages* occur (as they do frequently in holy *Writ*) they have learned the Art (by impoſing upon a credulous *Vulgar*) to make the World believe, that they are thoſe perſecuted *Saints*, for whom thoſe promiſes are recorded, and that all ſuch perſons as are any way employed (though in Obedience to Authority) to ſuppreſs them, are Perſecuting wretches, on whom, ſooner or later, all thoſe *Judgments* threatned ſhall certainly be *inflicted*.

I ſhall not in the leaſt offend them with any harſh Invectives (ſuch Reflections (though ſome eaſe indeed to a burthen'd mind) being very little to the *Subſtance* of a Cauſe) but ſhall only beg their Patience and Charity, whilſt I endeavour to undeceive them, by aſſuring them in plaine *Engliſh* (what, without Repentance, they will one day find true) *That they are not Perſecuted as Saints, but puniſhed as Malefactors*.

And this I ſhall (through Gods aſſiſtance) undenyably *prove* in this Method.

1. By fixing the *Notion*, in laying down a clear and diſtinct *deſinition* of *Perſecution*.

2. By conſidering, how far thoſe preſent *Sufferings* to which our Nonconformiſts are obnoxious, do agree with it, or differ from it.

Perſecution for Religion (for of ſuch onely I now treat) may not unfitly be thus deſcribed.

Tis an eager violent inflicting, of outward temporal Evils, for the exerciſe of true Religion.

I call it *eager violent inflicting*) so the Lat. [c] *Persequor*, and the Gr. [d] Διώκω do fully denote; they both signifie so to *follow*, as a Hunter doth his Prey, who pursues it till he takes it.

But because these terms *eager* and *violent*, do only agree to one sort of *Persecution*, *viz.* That which is *furious* and *rageing*, (it being sometimes more mild and moderate) and since *definitions* do express the *nature*, but not the *degree* of the *thing defined* (as when we define *Calor*, we take no notice of it in *summo*) I shall therefore omit these words *eager* and *violent*, and then the definition (I suppose unquestionably) stands thus,

Persecution is an inflicting of outward temporal Evils, for the exercise of true Religion.

Outward temporal Evils) either upon the *Body*, as Banishment, Imprisonment, Tortures, Death; or upon the *Estate*, as Pecuniary Mulcts, confiscation of Goods; or upon *Reputation* and *good Name*, as Slanderings, Revilings, Reproachful Speeches.

For the exercise of true Religion) which is the *Ratio formalis*, the Constitutive difference, whereby *Persecution* is distinguished from all other violences whatsoever. For let the greatest *Reproaches* and *Indignities*, usher in the most exquisite *Tortures*, and those be concluded by a *Death* as cruel, as the utmost Malice on Earth, or Fury in Hell can contrive; yet unless these Tortures be *eo nomine* inflicted, for the sake and cause of *Religion*, we may call them merciless, inhumane, unnatural Cruelties, (or any such like name as can most fitly express them) but not *Persecution*.

By Religion, (that I may yet more fully explaine the *Definition*) I mean the *Worship* of God; by *true Religion*, the

(c) *i. e. continue, seu continuato motu sequor.* inimico affectu insequor. continuò, assidue quæro. Mart. Lex. Philolog.

(d) *i.e.* καταλαμβάνειν φεύγοντα, ἢ κατατρέχειν ἐν κλίμακι, καὶ φεύγειν μεθ' ὁρμῆς. Hesychius.

the worſhipping of him according to his Will; the which Will (though heretofore variouſly delivered, and in different Diſpenſations, yet thoſe extraordinary ways of Conveyance being now ceaſed) it hath pleaſed the Goodneſs and Wiſdom of God to deliver in Writing (by the Miniſtry of the Prophets and Apoſtles) in thoſe *Books* which (by way of eminency) we call the *Scriptures*. So that whatever *Worſhip* is not according to thoſe *holy Oracles*, is not *true* and acceptable, but *falſe* and vain: *In vain do ye Worſhip me*, &c. It being an undoubted Truth; That God hath as much right to appoint the way of his own Worſhip, as to be Worſhipp'd.

There are moreover, we know, *two* parts of Religion; *Credenda*, *Agenda*, *Truths* to be believed, and *Duties* to be performed, in order to *Salvation*; and in both theſe, the Scripture is our Rule and Direction.

He therefore that is *Puniſhed*, either for *believing* thoſe *Truths*, or for *doing* thoſe *Duties*, the belief and performance of which *holy Scripture* requireth of him; or he that is *puniſhed*, for *not believing* thoſe things as Truths, which are but falſities and *lies*, or for *not doing* thoſe things as Duties, which are finful and *unlawful*, he, I ſay, who is puniſhed upon theſe accounts, is properly *Perſecuted*.

The *Caſe* then about *Perſecution*, as it reſpects the *Non-conformiſts*, is briefly this:

If thoſe *Inſtances*, for which they are puniſhed, be no way required of them in *holy Scripture*, either for belief, or practiſe; and if it ſhall appear, upon inquiry, that the *Church* of *England* requires nothing of them, that is *in fide* Erroneous, or *in facto* Impious; if ſhe neither enjoynes them to believe *Lies*, nor to commit any *Sin*, if nor ſo, nor ſo, let the *world* then *judge* where the *fault* lies; and

who they are, that (without Repentance) muſt one day *Anſwer* (which I fear is now little thought on) for all thoſe *Separations* and *Diviſions* in the *Church*, all thoſe *Diſtractions*, *Confuſions*, *Wars*, *Murthers*, *Rapines*, &c. (the natural *conſequents* of the former) in the *State*, which theſe poor miſerable divided Kingdomes have ſo ſadly experienc'd.

'Twill be *replied*, (and I find it no unuſual Plea) That *Preaching and Praying are neceſſary Duties, But they are puniſhed for Preaching and Praying, Therefore they are puniſhed for performance of religious Duties, and conſequently* (*according to the now mentioned definition*) *are Perſecuted.*

e *Prop. for Saf. of King and Kingd. p.* 10.

They tell us, e *There are certain inoffencive perſons, and they* (meaning their Rulers) *have really no more againſt them, only that they meet, and preach, and pray together. Innocent folks, who are dragged to Priſon, for doing nothing in earneſt, but endeavouring to ſave their Souls.*

That I may, if poſſible, convince *my Brethren*, of the weakneſs and vanity of this plauſible *Argument*, I'le give them my Anſwer (I hope Methodically and clearly) in theſe following Concluſions.

Concl: 1.

By Preaching and Praying, (as they are the Subject of our preſent Diſquiſition) is meant the performance of them in publick, not in private; this latter being *liberæ obſervationis*, ſince every man (of what perſwaſion ſoever) may not only *Pray* with his own family, *when* and *how* he pleaſeth, but alſo *Preach*, or Inſtruct them (and that without fear of *puniſhment*) in what manner he thinks fit.

Concl: 2.

In Preaching and Praying there is conſiderable, Subſtantia & Circumſtantiæ, Res & Modus, the ſubſtance of the Duty,

Duty, or the thing to be perform'd, and the circumſtances, or manner of its performance.

Preaching and Praying, quoad Subſtantiam, are neceſſary, neceſſitate Præcepti & Medii, i. e. *God hath Commanded*, and the condition of the Church (whilſt Militant *& in viâ*) doth require, that theſe Duties be attended.

Nor is the *Subſtance* only, but alſo the *Circumſtances* of theſe Duties in *Theſi*, and in the general *neceſſary*, *i. e.* when theſe Duties are conſidered in *actu exercito*, whenever they are put into *practice*, we muſt *neceſſarily* make uſe of Circumſtances, ſome or other.

Concl: 3.

Theſe Circumſtances (*however in Theſi neceſſary*) *in Hypotheſi and in Particular, are not determined in Scripture*; (which, I do not mean as to their Lawfulneſs, but as to their being duties) if they be, there muſt then be produc'd ſome clear and diſtinct *Precept* (perpetually obligatory to the *Church*) requiring our obſervance of ſuch or ſuch Circumſtances; for this, and nothing elſe, (though other things are pretended) can conſtitute a Religious Duty. Thus, though *Prayer* be a Duty, yet whether it be a *Set Form*, or *Extemporary*? The *Miniſter*, whether habited in a *Surplice*, or *without*? His *Geſture*, whether kneeling, or ſtanding? The *Place*, whether in a Deske, or at the Communion Table, or at both? So for *Preaching*, whether in a Gown, a long Cloak or a ſhort? How many Sermons in one day, whether *three*, or *two*, or but *one*; I ſay, none of theſe, or ſuch like, are determined in *Scripture* to be our Duties; thoſe who aſſert they are, muſt produce the *Command* making them to be ſuch; for Duty and Command, have a neceſſary Reſpect and Relation to one another.

Concl: 4.

These Circumstances (*though still free and indifferent* quoad naturam, *being neither commanded nor forbidden yet*) *must not be left undetermined* quoad usum; *i. e.* Private persons must not be left at liberty, to do what they think fit in *Circumstantials*, as if an agreement in *Substantialls only* were sufficient; so as if there be but *Preaching* and *Praying*; if these Duties be but performed, one man may use a *Set Form*, another may pray *Extempore*; this *Minister* may wear the *Surplice*, whilst his *Neighbour* rejects it as Popish and *Antichristian*. Does not any man (who hath not enslaved his *Reason*, to support a *Faction*) very easily observe, that the bare mention of this Fancy (such I am forc'd to call it) is its own Confutation? was it ever so much as *thought* on, but in the heat of a Dispute? Did ever any Constituted Church in the world allow such Liberty? Are not my *Brethren* themselves convinc'd of the contrary? If they deny it, I could very easily refresh their Memories in so obvious a Theam; I could turn them to their *Directory*, and their *Ordinances* to enforce it, &c. but I spare them. In short,

g Mr. *Newcomes* Serm. at Pauls, Feb. 9. 1646. pag. 18.

g *There is scarce any difference so small, and inconsiderable, but the divulging, and propagating of it, may prove dangerous and pernicious, and in the event intollerable:* Therefore to allow *private* persons the Liberty, to order these Circumstances in the *publick* Worship (*pro modulo Conscientiæ*) as their own Conscience (perhaps humour or interest) shall *Dictate*, is the ready way to destroy all Order and Government in the world. And this I hope is sufficiently made plain (to any man that will but read and consider) in the following *Collections*.

Well then, to rise yet a little higher,

Since

Since it is neceſſary that there muſt be ſome *Circumſtances* made uſe of in the exerciſe of theſe Duties, *Preaching* and *Praying*, (it being impoſſible to perform any Action (and therefore Religious Action) without them) and ſince Scripture hath *determined* nothing, either by requiring ſome as *neceſſary*, or forbidding others as *unlawful*: and ſince to leave them undetermin'd (for private Perſons to do what ſeems good in their own eyes) is apparently deſtructive both to *Church* and State; what can more naturally follow then this. That they muſt be Determined by the Supream Magiſtrate; who by the Advice of his Eccleſiaſtical Council, his *Convocation*, (as in Seculars by his *Parliament*) may appoint the performance of theſe, and other Religious Duties in ſuch a *manner*, as is moſt agreable to that Apoſtolical Canon: *Let all things be done decently and in order.* I proceed therefore to my fifth Concluſion, which is this,

Concl: 5.

The Supream Magiſtrate muſt determine what Circumſtances ſhall be uſed in the Worſhip and Service of God. The which Concluſion, I ſhall rather ſuppoſe then prove; not that I think it of leſs truth or certainty then the reſt, but becauſe our Divines, not only *Epiſcopal*, but alſo the *diſſenting Parties* (with whom I am now treating) have perform'd it with ſo much plainneſs and ſatisfaction to my hand.

And though I might collect whole *Volumes* from their Sermons, and other Treatiſes, to confirme this Truth, yet to relieve my ſelf from the drudgery of tranſcribing, (wich is no pleaſing task) and to give eaſe to my *Reader*, I ſhall only refer him to ſome Places in the following *Collections*; which if he pleaſe to turn to, and read (as they are cited in

(*h*) See the Pages following, *viz.* p. 18. 19, 20, 21. 28. 29. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 50.

in the (*h*) Margin) before he goes any farther, he will do me great *right*, and himself no displeasure.

From which Places it evidently appears, *That the Magistrate is both* Custos *and* Vindex utriusq; Tabulæ. *That the Examples of the Kings of Israel and Judah, may sufficiently warrant and encourage all Religious Magistrates, to reform and settle Religion in one Uniform way, and take care that all under their Government, should all serve the Lord with one shoulder, this being not a Tyranny over men, but the Priviledge of the Gospell. That they must take a course, that Christians may live a quiet and Peaceable life in Godliness and honesty, not in Strife and Contention;* which how they shall be able to perform, if *every man* (concerning these Circumstances) *may hold what he please, and Publish and Preach what he holds*, I am not able to imagine. These and many the like Passages (some of which I have now given you in their own words) you will find in the forecited places; from whence I think it is plain, (*i*) *That where the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church doth not, or cannot prevail, the Magistrate must interpose his Coercive Power, for Restraint or Remedy.* Which leads me to the sixt Concl.

(*i*) *ut supra* pag. 20.

Concl. 6.

There must be Eccl: Laws, Canons, or Constitutions made, for the due ordering of these Circumstances.

Much I grant hath been objected by my dissenting Br: against these *Constitutions*, both in *Thesi* (against all Eccl: Laws in generall) and in *Hypothesi* (against these of our own Church in particular.)

As to the first (for the latter is beyond my designe) I think it would puzzle the most judicious *Dissenter*, to give a solid satisfactory Account, why the *Supream Power* may make Laws to determine *Indifferent* Circumstances in *Temporals*,

Temporalls, and not in *Spiritualls*; they being both liable (in my apprehenſion) to the ſame *Difficulties* and *Inconveniences*, and if the latter be *exploded*, the former (ſuppoſing they are faithfull to their Principles) will very hardly be *defended*.

Concl: 7.

Theſe Eccl: Laws when rightly made and conſtituted, are obligatory, and muſt be obey'd. The Reaſon is, Becauſe Obedience to Lawfull Authority *in licitis & honeſtis*, is a duty, which God in his holy Word requireth of us. Now *that* is lawfull, and conſequently the *debita materia* of any humane Conſtitution (Eccleſiaſtical or Civil) which is not contrary to any former obligation. Unleſs therefore the *matter* of theſe Conſtitutions, or the *thing* which they require us to perform, can be evinc'd (by good Logical Deduction) to be contrary to Gods will Revealed in Scripture, there remains nothing but *Obedience*, not onely *Paſſive*, chearfully and quietly (without murmurings and revilings) ſubmitting to the *Puniſhment*; but alſo *Active*, by a ready performance of the thing commanded; though poſſibly it might be thought very inconvenient, as being contrary to *Education*, *Cuſtome*, *Intereſt & Advantage in the World*, and the like. And therefore,

Concl: 8.

We being not (even the beſt of us all) over-ready in this great Duty of Obedience, There are Penalties annexed to theſe Eccl. Conſt. (as well as to other Laws) to frighten us into our Duty. Such is the *corruption* and *ſtubborneſs* of our *natures*, and ſo little are we affected with the Obligations of Conſcience, that it is morally impoſſible for the moſt wholeſome Laws to obtain their *End*, without the Addition of Civil *Sanctions* to enforce them. For, if the Laws

of

of *God*, which are holy, just and good, and every way perfect, (they being the contrivance of infinite *Wisdome* and *Goodness*) if these are contemned and neglected, and (and as sad experience proves it) dayly cast behind our backs, when the observance of them is inconsistent with some Bruitish Pleasure; no wonder if the Laws of *Men*, (who not onely (many times) want *Wisdome* to contrive, but also Goodness to designe what is most profitable for their People) I say, no wonder if these be rather quarrel'd with and disputed, then submitted to and obey'd.

As therefore the infinite *Majesty* of Heaven, hath enforced the observance of his Commands, by a suitable proposal of Rewards and Punishments; so it is the Duty of Inferior *Legislators*, to be *a Punishment to evil doers, and a Praise to them that do well.* Therefore,

Concl: 9.

The Supream Magistrate, in inflicting these Penalties, i. e. *in punishing the Offenders against his Constitutions, doth execute Justice, and perform his Duty.*

The end and design of Government, is *Salus Publica*, it is to take care, *ne quid detrimenti capiat Communitas*, or in the Apostles Phrase, *That we may live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.* This is the End.

And since no *End* can be attain'd, but by a due and effectual Application of proper *Means*, we cannot but in Reason grant, that the Magistrate may employ such *Medium's* as are most conducive to his desired *End.* Amongst which, *this* certainly is not the least considerable, (and without which, all Government is but precarious) viz. *A removal of whatsoever is hurtful and destructive to his Society.*

Now since the Publick *allowance*, of different Opinions, and

and Practices about Circumstantials in *Religion* (particularly about Preaching ad Praying) doth naturally improve into contentious *Disputes*, and those Disputes (if not restraind) break out into *Civill Wars*; for k *Men will at last take up Swords and Spears instead of Pens; and defend by Armes what they cannot do by Arguments.* Since things are thus, Tis at least Prudence (if not Duty) in the Supream Power, to remove the Occasion of this *Ruine*, by enjoyning the Publick Practice of these Duties in one *Vniforme* way; That all his *Subjects may speake the same thing*; and *that there be no Divisions amongst them, perfectly joynd together in the same mind, and in the same judgement.*

k Mr. *Newcomens Ser. before Parl. Sep.* 12. 1644. pag. 36.

If therefore upon inquiry it do appeare, That the *Magistrate* hath Power to make *Constitutions*, for the better ordering of those *Circumstances*, about which Scripture hath determind nothing, whether wee must use or not use them; and if *Offenders* against these Constitutions are justly punishable, it undenyably follows; that in punishing such Violaters of his Laws, the Magistrate doth not *Persecute*, but execute Justice, and that those Persons who are thus reflected upon, are not Persecuted as *Saints*, but Punishd as Malefactors. The very Case of our Nonconformists here in England.

The *Summary* of these *Conclusions* (that my Reader may the better apprehend them to be both *Consequent* and *Evident*) is this.

Preaching and Praying are necessary Duties, Which cannot be performd without Circumstances, These are not determind in Scripture, Nor must be left undetermind, Therefore by the Supream Magistrate, Who to effect this makes Laws and Constitutions, These have Penalties annexed to be inflicted on the Disobedient, The infliction of these Penalties is the execution

of Juſtice, and the Magiſtrates Duty, But no Perſecution, Therefore *thoſe Perſons that ſuffer theſe Penalties are not injuriouſely Perſecuted but juſtly Puniſh'd.*

Quod erat Demonſtrandum.

I cannot at all doubt, but the *weakneſs* of my Brethrens *Argument* (to any unprejudic'd Reader) begins now to appear. However, I will repeat their Syllogiſme once more, and then let the World judge who is in the *Right.*

Preaching and Praying are neceſſary Duties,
But N. C. are puniſh'd for Preaching and Praying,
Therefore *They are Puniſh'd for neceſſary Duties,*
and conſequently are Perſecuted.

I Anſwer, firſt, by diſtinguiſhing the *Major.*

Preaching and Praying *quoad Subſtantiam,* are neceſſary Duties, *i. e.* Its neceſſary that theſe Duties be perform'd. *Quoad Circumſtantias,* they are not neceſſary, *i. e.* though theſe Duties be perform'd, yet it is not *neceſſary* to perform them in *ſuch* or *ſuch* a *manner.* Thus, though *Prayer* be neceſſary, yet that it ſhould be *Extemporary,* or without a *Form,* is not neceſſary, or that the Miniſter ſhould be without a *Surplice,* is not neceſſary.

So for *Preaching,* though it be a Duty, yet to *preach* or *hear* a Sermon in a *Conventicle* of two or three *Thouſand,* or to expoſe my ſelf to *Sufferings,* and perhaps, a long Impriſonment, to the neglect of my *Profeſſion,* and thence the ruine of my Family, for which I am bound to provide; I ſay, to throw my ſelf upon all theſe Inconveniencies, only to hear a Sermon from *A. B.* or *C. D.* when I may ſafely hear a much better from an Orthodox Miniſter, is ſo far from being neceſſary, that it may juſtly be ſaid, *Who hath required theſe things at your hands.* That for the *Major.* Secondly,

Secondly, I Anſwer, by denying the *Minor*, which is utterly falſe and untrue. They are not puniſhed for *Preaching* and *Praying* (they being puniſhable for their neglect) but they are puniſhed for not obſerving thoſe *Circumſtances* about Preaching and Praying, which *Authority* requireth of them; or, they are puniſhed for not performing theſe Duties in ſuch a manner as their *Governours* require; or more plainly yet, they are puniſhed for not obſerving, and ſubmitting to thoſe *Conſtitutions*, which their *Governours* have Eſtabliſhed, for the better ordering of theſe Duties. The *Obligation* of which Conſtitutions (becauſe they are much oppos'd) I'le endeavour to *confirm* by this one Conſideration. *Bonum non oritur niſi ex integrâ Cauſâ*, There muſt be a concurrence of all requiſite Conditions to make a thing good. Now the Conditions required to the *Validity* of a Law, are not unduely expreſt by the four *Cauſes*; *Efficient*, *Material*, *Formal*, *Final*; and, *That* Law which is not Defective in any one of theſe, is *Valid* and *Obligatory*, But ſuch are the *Conſtitutions* of the Church of *England*. Therefore. &c.

1. *Reſpectu Cauſæ Efficientis*, there is ſufficient Authority and Legiſlative Power. 2. *Reſpectu Materiæ*, the things enjoyn'd are not unlawful, as being contrary to any Law, any former Obligation. 3. *Reſpectu Formæ*, there is ſufficient Promulgation. 4. *Reſpectu Finis*, Publick Peace and Safety, (by reſtraining Diſorders, Tumults, Contentions, which might ariſe from Diſformity in Worſhip) is the very Reaſon and *End* of their being exacted.

Object. *But is not* Conſcience *violated, and* Chriſtian-liberty *infringed by theſe* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions, *ſince they determine us preciſely* ad unum *in the uſe of Indifferent things, which God and Chriſt have left free* ad utrumlibet?

Answ. I Answer, (referring my Reader for farther Satisfaction to Bishop *Sandersons* seventh Sermon ad Pop. pag. 384.) That there is no *Subject* of *England* (whatever is pretended to the contrary) but hath the *Liberty* of his *Conscience*; or, (to speak more intelligibly) may worship God according to his Conscience, *i. e.* in such a way and manner as his *Conscience* (his judging Faculty) judgeth most acceptable; provided always, that he keep his opinions to *himself*, or to his *Family*, and make them a Rule only for his own private *Practice*: But if such a man will go *publish* his *Opinions*, and entangle the Consciences of *others*, and seek to draw Disciples after him, and make a Party, and cause *Divisions* and *Dissentions* amongst his Majesties Subjects, and trouble the *Publick*, he is to be restrain'd, he is not to be tolerated.

Object. *I Will you allow the Magistrate to Tyranize over mens Consciences?*

1 Mr. *Calamys Ser. before the Lords.* Dec. 25. 1644. *pag.* 38.

Answ. 'By no means; But I believe it is the Duty of 'Magistrates to keep men from infecting their Subjects 'with Soul-destroying Errours. If thou hast an Heretical Opinion, have it to thy self, and the Magistrate will 'not, nay, cannot meddle with thy private Conscience. 'But if thou labourest to infect others, with thy Grace-destroying Opinions, I doubt not but the Magistrate is 'bound to keep thee from spreading thy Infection to the 'undoing of the Souls of his Subjects. If he may lawfully shut up a man that hath the Plague upon his body, 'that he may not Infect others; why not a man that hath 'the Plague of Heresie upon his Soul, that so he may not 'destroy the Souls of Thousands? Shall a Master in a 'Family have power to put away a Servant that is tainted 'with a grosse Opinion, and yet not be called a Tyrant

'over that Servants Conſcience? And ſhall not the chief 'Magiſtrate of a Kingdome have Power to put out of his 'Kingdome (at leaſt to ſhut up from doing hurt) one that 'is his Subject, and polluted with Blaſphemous, Hereti-'cal, Idololatrical Opinions? Is not the Kingdom the 'Magiſtrates Houſe and Family?

'Theſe are the means that are to be uſed to cure the 'diſtractions of *England*. The Lord give us grace to put 'them in practice.

But this and the other *party* will reply, That *they* are neither *Heretical* nor *Turbulent*; and therefore what is all this diſcourſe to *them*.

I Anſwer, No man muſt be Judge in his own Cauſe; every man therefore is to be ſuppoſed ſuch, that (when his Place requires it) refuſeth (by publick *Oaths*, *Subſcriptions*, and *Declarations*) to give the Magiſtrate aſſurance, that he is *Orthodox* and *Peaceable*.

m 'Poſſibly they will all ſay, They are of the ſame 'Opinion with the Reformed Churches in Fundamentals, 'as well as we, and their differences are but in *minutio-'ribus*. Now ſuppoſing this to be true (as it may be in 'ſome of them) why do they then tranſgreſs the Apo-'ſtles Rule? why do they not if it be in matters of leſſer 'moment wherein they differ from us, why do not they 'keep their Opinions private, and have their Faith unto 'themſelves before God? why do they upon ſo ſmall 'Differences (if the Differences be ſo ſmall) withdraw 'from Communion with us, and the reſt of the Chur-'ches, and gather themſelves into diſtinct and ſeparate 'Churches?

m Mr. *Newcomen*; *Serm. at Pauls Feb.* 8. 1646. p. 40.

n 'Had all that Profeſs the Goſpel in *England*, made 'Conſcience to be of the ſame mind, and the ſame Judg-'ment

n *Vt ſupra* p. 21.

'ment with their Brethren, and the reſt of the Churches 'of Chriſt, as far as poſſibly; and where they cannot, 'where there is a neceſſity of differing, had they made 'Conſcience to keep their Differences from appearing in 'Publick; to have their private Opinions and Faith to 'themſelves, and not intangle the weak with their doubt-'ful Diſputations; forbearing to judge or deſpiſe thoſe 'that are not of their Opinion, loving them ſtill as Bre-'thren, not cenſuring them as Prophane, Antichriſtian, 'Fighters againſt God, men that will wilfully ſhut their 'eyes againſt the Light; had theſe things (I ſay) been 'attended to on all hands, our Breaches had never been 'ſo great as now they are, nor ſhould the lovers of Truth 'and Peace have had ſo much cauſe to lament them.

o Mr. *Baxters Cure of Church diviſions*, pag. 254.

'But, *o* O the deceitfulneſs of the heart of man! Little 'do many real Separiſts, who cry out againſt the ſpirit 'of Perſecution, ſuſpect that the ſame ſpirit is in them! 'whence is Perſecution, but from thinking ill of others, 'and abhorring them, or not loving them. And do not 'you do ſo by thoſe whom you cauſeleſly ſeparate from?

p Mr. *Newcomen ut ſupra* p. 40.

p 'Who are they that brand their Brethren with the Ti-'tle *Proud, Time-ſervers, Prelatical, Tyrannical, Antichri-ſtian?* And what is this leſs then Perſecution?

q *Rom.* 2.1.

q 'Therefore thou art inexcuſable, O man, whoſoever 'thou art that judgeſt: for in that thou judgeſt another, 'thou condemneſt thy ſelf, for thou that judgeſt doſt the 'ſame things.

r *Matth.* 7. 3. 4. 5.

r 'And why beholdeſt thou the Mote that 'is in thy Brothers eye, but conſidereſt not the Beam that 'is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou ſay to thy Bro-'ther, let me pull out the Mote out of thine eye; and 'behold, a Beam is in thine own eye? Thou Hypocrite, 'firſt caſt out the Beam out of thine own eye, and then

'ſhalt

'shalt thou see clearly to cast out the Moat out of thy 'Brothers eye.

I have a fair occasion (could I allow my self the liberty of its improvement) to return my Brethrens Argument upon their own heads, by assuring them (and I beseech God to give them grace to consider and bewaile it) that the *Persecution* (so much complained of) lyes at their own Doors, they being not innocent *Sufferers*, but injurious *Aggressors*.

These I know are very harsh and unpleasing words; but the Truth of them will appear, when we shall have remembred, that there are more *sorts* of Persecution then *one*, of which St. *Augustine* thus informes. *Gravius persequitur filius Patrem male vivendo, quam Pater filium castigando. Et gravius ancilla Saram persecuta est per iniquam Superbiam, quam eam Sara per debitam Disciplinam. Et gravius Dominum persequebantur propter quos dictum est, zelus domus tuæ comedit me, quam eos ipse cum eorum mensas evertit, & eos flagello de templo expulit.* There is you see *Persecution* of the *Tongue*, and of an *irregular Life*, as well as of the *Hand*; and if my Brethren are not at present guilty of this latter (whether through restraint, or their own good nature I shall not determine) I am sure the former is their constant Practice. ‖ *Lib. de Unit. Eccles. contr. Petil: Epist. cap. 17.*

For, (to insist only upon that) 'tis even amazeing to mention, what bitter *Taunts*, rude *Sarcasmes*, unmannerly *Jeers*, fabulous *Stories*, scandalous *Reproaches*, are their daily exercise, whereby they vex the *Righteous Souls*, weaken the *Hands*, discourage the *Endeavours*, of their honest Orthodox Conforming *Brethren*. Are not all *Places*, all *Companies*, all *Occasions* sufficient witnesses of this Truth?

Really 'tis very sad, (and to be lamented with *Tears*)

That

That the great work of Religion, the Preaching of the Gospell, and the Salvation of Souls, should be thus obstructed by these unfortunate practises.

But I hope no faithfull Son of the *Church* will be *discourag'd* at these Things, or in the least neglect his Duty, though all the World should be offended at him. The Rule is fixt. *We must obey God rather then Man.* 'Tis our Dear Lords case, in whom there was no Sin, neither was Guile found in his mouth, and yet he was accus'd for a *Wine bibber*, a *Glutton*, and that he had a *Devill.* t *The Disciple is not above his Master, nor the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple that he be as his Master, and the Servant as his Lord: if they have call'd the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his Houshold? Fear them not therefore: Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the Soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell.*

t *Math.* 10. 24. &c.

I cannot now stay to expostulate with my Brethren, otherwise I should tell them, there is such a thing as *Scandal*; and that Christ hath *little ones*, the meanest of whom, if they offend (hinder from their *Duty*, and stop them in their way to Heaven, by speaking Evil of the *Ways* of God) *it were better a Millstone were hanged about their necks, and they cast into the midst of the Sea.*

But I shall only desire them to consider that of Saint James; *If any man among you seem to be Religious, and bridleth not his Tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this mans Religion is vain.*

u *James* 1. 26.

w 'And yet how contrary is the practise of no small 'number of the Religious? In all Companies, how forward are they to talke of the sins of Princes and Parliaments? of Courtiers, of Nobility and Gentry, espe-

w Mr. *Baxter ut supra* p. 245.

'cially

'cially of Ministers? And not onely of the scanda-
'lous, that are guilty indeed, but of the Innocent,
'that are not of their way, whose faults they rather
'x make than find.

x Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται.

I have done; and must intreat the Readers *Charity*, in pardoning those excesses of my *Pen*, which (whilst I was intent upon the *matter*) may possibly have fall'n from mee. God he knows it, (and tis my comfort when the *world* condemnes mee) I have no designe to *exasperate* any man but to *reforme* him. If this do not satisfy (for some men are very hard to please) take this farther *Apology* in the words of that Reverend Person now mentiond, whose *Piety* and *Moderation* I wish his Brethren would imitate.

y 'Woe to the Land and People that can multiply
'Sin and cannot Repent; And woe to them that pretend
'Repentance, and love to be flatter'd in their Sin, and
'cannot endure to be admonish'd, but take all the disco-
'verys of their Sin to be injurious reproach. Among
'the Prophane wee take this to bee a deadly sign of Im-
'penitency. And is it so bad in them, and good in us?
'It is part of my Office to cry with holy Bradford RE-
'PENT O ENGLAND; and to say after Christ
'(Except ye Repent, ye shall all likewise Perish,) And
'can I call men to Repent, when I must not dare to tell
'them of what? nor to mention the Sin which is most
'to be repented of? I use all this Preface because I know
'that Guilt and Impenitency are touchy, and tender,
'and galled, and querulous, and such will bestow the
'time in backbiting their Monitor, which they should
'bestow in lamenting their sin. But shall I therefore for-
'bear, and betray their Souls, and betray the Land

y Mr. *Baxter ut supra.* p. 251. & 253.

'through cowardly Silence? Must I shew that I hate 'Professours by not admonishing them, (Lev. 19. 17.) 'when I must shew that I love the looser sort by my 'sharp reproofs? Must I not fear them that can kill the 'Body? and must I fear to displease a professed Chri-'stian, calling him to repentance in a time of Judge-'ments?

'Read on now with these *Memento's* in your eye: And 'if after so plain a *Premonition*, you will venture to charge 'mee with that which I disclaime, do it at your own 'perill. I stand or fall to the Judgement of God, and 'look for a better reward then the *Hypocrites*, which is, 'To have the good Opinion of men, be they Professours 'of Piety, or Profane. And with me by Gods grace, 'it shall hereafter be accounted a small Thing (to the 'hindering of my Fidelity to Christ and mens souls) to 'be judged of men, 1 *Cor.* 4. 3.

'And if there should be any *Pastors* of the Chur-'ches, who instead of concurring to heal the Flocks of 'these dividing Principles, shall rather joyne with '*Backbiters*, and encourage them in their misreports 'and slanders, because it tendeth to the supposed interest 'of their *Party* or themselves, let them prepare to an-'swer such unfaithfulness to their *Consciences* which will 'shortly be awakned, and to the great Shepherd of the 'Flock who is at the door, and who told even the De-'vills Agents, that *a House or Kingdom divided against 'it self cannot stand, but is brought to nought.* Matt. 12. '(If alas, alas, experience hath not yet, not yet, not yet, 'done enough to teach them this.)

Adver-

TOLERATION

Disapprov'd and Condemn'd &c.

Humbly presented to the serious Consideration of all Dissenting Parties.

My Brethren,

THE Lord Jesus (who knows all our Hearts, and before whose great Tribunal both you and and I must one day appeare) is my witness; that the cheif designe of my present undertaking, is the *Peace* and welfare of the *Church*; the continuance of the *Gospel*; and the eternal *Salvation* of pretious and immortal *Souls*. I do therefore much hope (though we are all naturally impatient of opposition) that you will favourably *receive*, and seriously *consider* these *plaine* (yet well meaning) *lines*; which have no other *patronage*, then the *charity* of the *Author*, and the candor and piety of those *persons* to whom they are *directed*.

The *solemnity* of this *Preface* as it may raise your expectations, so it may possibly invite your

riosity to inquire; *who*, or what manner of person I am, that have taken the confidence of so important an Address.

And though the knowledge of my name would signifie little, (I being not so considerable as that it should add any weight to my performance) yet that I may in some sort gratify such obliging *Readers* (as I hope to find you) I shall farther acquaint you; that (though I am not a person very ambitious to be known yet) upon occasion, I shall either publickly *own*, and *vindicate*, or (if duely convinc'd) as *publickly* recant my present *opinion*; and (in short) to secure *you*, and Apologize for *my selfe*, (since concealed names are ever suspitious) I do solemnly protest: that I am no scoffer at *Religion*, nor railer at *true* Piety; that I *love* an honest religious good man (that endeavours to *save* his *soul*, and come to heaven) under what profession soever I find him: that I will pitty, and (according to my poor ability) rectify, but never make sport with his errours, and mistakes: and herein I doe readily subscribe to the learned La *Verulam*, *That to turne Religion into a Comedy or Satyr, to search, and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture*

a *Advertisements touching the Church of England, in his Refusc. p.* 165.

Scripture & ſcurrility ſometimes in one ſentence, is a thing very far from the devout reverence of a chriſtian, and ſcant beſeeming the honeſt regard of a ſober man. Two principal cauſes (ſaith this honourable perſon) *have I ever known of Atheiſme; curious Controverſies, and prophane ſcoffing.* And no leſs do I admire (what I hope you will grant I have endeavoured to tranſcribe) that incomparable ſaying of the judicious b *Hooker. There will come a time when three words uttered with Charity and meekneſs, ſhall receive a far more bleſſed Reward, then three thouſand volumns written with diſdainful ſharpneſs of Wit.* But, if an irregular *heat* (which I will yet endeavour to ſuppreſs) ſhould ſome little diſplay it ſelfe; (it being very difficult to contend *coldly*, and without Affection, about things which we hold dear and pretious) and certainly the Peace of the Church is eminently ſuch) if *Paſſion*, and *Intereſt*, ſhould obtrude themſelves under the notion of Zeale (which God knows, is no leſs common then fatal miſtake in the management of our Controverſies) I do then humbly beg of you, that you would ſeriouſly conſider the following Words of the fore-cited *good man*; that, *the manner of mens writings muſt not alienate our hearts from*

b *The Preface to his Eccl: Pol Sect. 2.*

the Truth, if it appear they have the Truth.

Having now (as far as 'tis judged convenient) given you an account of the Author, 't will in all likelihood be next demanded (since this Subject hath been of late so fully, and as some think unanswerably discust) what convincing Reasons I have to trouble, either my Brethren to read, or my self to write, so common, and (whilest propositions are on foot) so unwelcome a discourse.

Really (my Brethren) did I nor fear, that such frequent protestations might seem too affected; or that *Conscience* and *Reality*, might be mistaken for *humour* and *designe*; I would once more call the searcher of all Hearts to witness; that I am so far from a persecuting spirit (the usuall *brand* we bestow upon our Adversaries) that some Months since I had so favourable an opinion of *Indulgence*, *Connivence*, or *Toleration*, that I little thought I should *now* appear an obstructer of so much *desir'd*, and (as I then apprehended) so blessed a work.

I am confident you are very forward to know the Reason of so sudden, and unexpected a change; tis therefore (omiting all farther prefacing) in short thus.

Being

Being desirous to informe my selfe in the *Nature* and *extent* of *Toleration*, which I observ'd (in such variety of *methods*, by such different *Parties*) so zealously promoted; (and that under no less *titles* then *Liberty of conscience*; *the great Interest of all Kingdomes, and States, and particularly of England*) in order to a more full satisfaction (not omitting my hearty *Prayers* to the *Father* of *Lights*, from whom cometh every *good* and *perfect* gift, and who hath promised to give *Wisdome, Counsel*, and *direction* to him that asketh) I procur'd, and perus'd, some of the most considerable *Tracts* and Pamphlets (*pro* and *con*) that have handled this Subject: and I must *ingeniously* confess (though I was not perfectly convinc'd yet) I did at first very much favour (whom I do *yet* no less pitty) the dissenting *Party*: and really it seem'd so plausible (since every man must answer for his *own* works) that every man should have the *Liberty* of his *own* opinion; and the name of *Conscience* is so *sacred*; that I durst not but make a *pause*, before *I* had pass'd a *judgement* upon such honest pretences. And (to make you my Confessors) I was no little affected with some *resentments* of a late ingeni-

ous Writer; his words are theſe.

c Propoſ: for the ſafety of King and Kingdome. Pag. 10.

There are a company of People about us in the Country of different perſwaſions, who meet ſometimes many hundreds together, that our Juſtices have been in perplexity what to do. The moſt of them (for ought I perceive) are certainly inoffenſive perſons, and they have really no more againſt them, then Pliny *againſt the Chriſtians of old, when he ſent to* Trajan *about them, that is, only that they meet, and Preach and Pray together: and if that excellent* Prince *was aſhamed after this report he gave him, of them in his Epiſtle, to have thoſe good men ſought out any more unto puniſhment, I cannot but favour their inclinations, which are averſe from the like Inquiſition. I profeſſe to God it is ſuch an ungentleman like thing (me thinks) to trouble ones Neighbours, that I ſhould be glad to rid modeſt men of that worke. It were better all theſe Acts ſuffered at once a due and Chriſtian regulation, than we ſhould be ſtill put upon, this untoward dragging innocent Folk's thus to Priſon for doing nothing in earneſt, but endeavouring to ſave their ſouls. In the name of God take you your Pſalter, and let them ſay their Prayers as they will.*

This, together with ſome other reflections drawne from the great Love of Chriſt to us (which

(which therefore by way of *gratitude* wee are to *acknowledge* by ſuitable *Acts* of love, pity, and *indulgence* to our poore Brethren) did very much *move* me; The words of my Author are theſe.

There is a perſon I hope you would do a kindneſſe for with all your heart, and you have Reaſon, it is for your dear Lord that bought you, and there is nothing in the world you can do (I am perſwaded) that he will take ſo kindly from you at this time, as to be pitiful to his Servants, who are diſtreſſed about your Acts in point of Conſcience, and who the more deſpiſed they are, and like unto their Lord, the fitter Subjects they are for your compaſſion. And a little after-- *If you had no need of mercy from God, it were tolerable then for you to be extreame towards others.* P. 72.

I hope this candid confeſſion of my weakneſſe (if yet it be a weakeneſſe to acknowledge my errours) ſhall not ſo far prejudice my Reader, as to hinder his acceptance of my following Reaſons, if it appear that they are really ſuch (*i. e.*) *rational* and convincing. To giue you therefore my Thoughts in order, my firſt reflection was this;

That though this *Toleration*, whilſt conſidered in the notion, and as it were in the *Idea*, do carry with

with it a great deal of outward glory and luſtre, filling the hearts of men with expectations of much happineſſe to enſue, (and no wonder if it be *therefore* entertain'd with generall applauſe eſpeci lly ofthe Vulgar ſort) yet when we come ad *practicandum*; to conſider how this notion may beſt be made *practicall* and put in *execution*, wee ſhall then meet with ſuch impediments, and inconveniences, as ſhall render the performance (to ſay no worſe) very far ſhort of promiſe, and expectation. And for my owne part (ſubmitting ſtill to better judgements) I do find it ſo *unintelligible* and *unpracticable*, that however it is pretended (and that very highly) by others, yet in *my* apprehenſion (and indeed the proceſſe of the *World* ſheweth no leſſe) *'tis only a Thing for weaker Parties to talke on.*

For, (to remind you *onely* of what others have more fully diſcuſs'd) if a *Toleration* muſt be admitted, then either *Univerſall* and *unlimited*, (ſuch as may comprehend even the Papiſts themſelves) or elſe Particular, (*i. e.*) limited to ſome peculiar Perſons or Parties.

As to the firſt, 'tis ſo perfectly wild and extravagant, that (in the judgement of all ſober Prote-

Protestants) it rather deserves an explosive scorn then a serious confutation.

For the second, *viz:* a *particular* and *limited*; unless (which seems the likeliest way to bring the work to some *Issue*) the dissenting Parties (who are many and of different perswasions) would clearly and distinctly acquaint the world, (in some publick *Writing* unanimously own'd) *who* they are that shall be indulged, and upon *what* conditions, we are yet never the nearer.

They give us indeed (by way of Resolution) some generall expressions: but these then are of so *doubtfull*, (I had almost said impossible) interpretation; that I appeal to any rational man (all prejudice and interest lay'd aside) whether such uncertainty's can be laid as a sufficient *Foundation*, on which to raise so considerable a *structure* as the Peace of the Church, and Prosperity of the Nation.

For whilst they tell us of *Reformed Religion to be settled in its due Latitude*, and yet never acquaint us what we are to understand by this *due Latitude*, what is the full extent, and meaning of the *Word*: whilst they *propose*; *that the Parties comprehended in their establishment shall be of importance*

Disc. of Relig. Title pag.

Disc. of Rel. Par. 1 p. 18.

tance in the Publicke Interest, and of Principles congruous to such stated Order in the Church, as the stability of the Commonwealth requires: and yet never inform us what these *important Interests*, and *congruous Principles* are; what other is it, but to trifle us with *Ambiguities* and *Amusements*? to trouble both themselves and others, in thus fiercely contending for a *Toleration*, in no body know's *What*, and to be granted to no body know's *Whom*?

I have given you a reflection, which if duely improv'd by some happier Pen, might possibly appeare of more difficult resolution, then your present *Sentiments* (occasion'd by the meanness of its delivery) may invite you to apprehend.

However, I am sure (as to mee) it hath been of sufficient moment to *revise* my former Thoughts; and to shew lesse *kindnesse* to your present *Toleration*, towards which I have been (very lately) more warmly affected.

But (to come yet closer to my intendment) that which did more *fully* (and if I mistake not unanswerably) convince me, was the perusall of severall Sermons preached by some of our

our late eminent Divines (before the two Houſes of Parliament) on ſolemn occaſions. For I muſt not omit to tell you, that having heard thoſe Diſcourſes much commended (as being delivered by ſuch famous Preachers, before ſuch as were reputed ſo wiſe and judicious Auditors as the *Lords*, and *Commons*, and therefore without doubt did contain ſomewhat extraordinary) I procured a good number of them (about an hundred) and as my other occaſions would permit (not without much expectation) ſet my ſelfe to the reading of them.

And indeed (that I may be faithfull to the memory of thoſe Perſons) I muſt acknowledge both to you and the world, I received no bad return of my labours; for I found (which is chiefely to my preſent purpoſe to obſerve) this point of *Toleration* ſo excellently, and fully diſcuſſed (though *obiter* only and as it were *by* the *by*) that no tract *ex inſtituto* (and there are ſome very ingenious) could ever afford me the like ſatisfaction.

Now that this may not be *gratis & precario dictum*; *I* ſhall very *faithfully* lay down their *own* Reaſons in their *own* words; and then leave it to *you* and all men to conſider; whether it be

not (morally at leaſt) impoſſible; that ſo many *excellently learned*, and eminent Divines, ſhoud ſo frequently, (and that with ſuch vehemency of zeale) oppoſe the very *Name* of Toleration (and which is yet more obſervable, that thoſe very *Sermons* in which theſe invectives are contained, ſhould not only receive the *Thanks* of the two Houſes, but by their eſpeciall order, be likewiſe made *Publick*) were there not ſome ſecret *Danger* in the *Thing*, which either the *Intereſt*, or *Security* of the preſent *Age*, will not *now* ſuffer us to *apprehend*?

I ſpeak as unto Wiſe men, Judge ye what I ſay.

Dr. *Cornelius Burgeſſe.*
Mr. *John Ward.*
Mr. *William Good.*
Mr. *Thomas Thorowgood.*
Mr. *Humphrey Hardwick.*
Mr. *Arthur Salwey.*
Mr. *William Reyner.*
Mr. *Thomas Caſe.*
Mr. *John Lightfoot.*
Mr. *Thomas Watſon.*
Mr. *George Hughes.*
Mr. *Edmund Calamy.*
Mr. *Richard Baxter.*
Mr. *Thomas Horton.*
Mr. *Lazarus Seaman.*
Mr. *Matthew Newcomen.*
Mr. *Richard Vines.*
Mr. *Simeon Aſh.*
Mr. *James Cranford.*
Mr. *Thomas Edwards.*

Cujus aures clauſæ veritati ſunt, ut ab amico verum audire nequeat, hujus ſalus deſperanda eſt. *Cic. Rhet. l.* 1.

The Testimonies of the fore-mentioned *Divines against Toleration.*

Dr. Corn. Burgesse Serm. before the house of Commons Novemb. 5. 1641. p. 60. Lond. printed for G. Meredith at the Crane in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1641.

'GIve me leave, I beseech you, to speak freely to 'you; I will do it humbly too.

'At your first sitting down, you expressed 'many brave and noble resolutions, of giving Gods busi- 'nes the precedency of all other your Affairs: and your 'beginnings promised much. Howbeit, I know not how 'it comes to pass, but so it is, that Gods work lies yet un- 'done. Matters of *Religion* lie a bleeding; all *Govern-* 'ment and *Discipline* of the Church is laid in her Grave, 'and all putredinous vermine of bold *Schismaticks* and 'frantick *Sectaries* glory in her ashes, making her fall, 'their own rising to mount our Pulpits, to offer strange 'fire, to expell the gravest, ablest, and most eminent Mi- 'nisters in the Kingdome, (if not out of their Pulpits 'yet) out of the hearts of their People, as a company of 'weak men, *formalists*, *time-servers*, no Ministers of 'Christ, but *Limbs of Antichrist*; having no calling ex- 'cept from the Devill; and to forsake our Assemblies as 'Babylonish and *Antichristian*; so as in short time they 'will not leave us the face of a Church. And yet *No 'Course is taken to suppress their fury & to reduce them to Or- 'der*, which (as things now stand) will never be, till you put 'your hands to the Cure. [b] I beseech you therefore, *in the* 'Name of that great God, whom you serve, and who 'hath hitherto blest you, and for the Peace and prospe- 'ritie of this Church and Kingdome, to resume and

b P. 63.

'pursue

'pursue your first thoughts of setting up God and his or-
'dinances, as becomes you in a regular way ---- a That
a P.64. 'our Church and the Government thereof may be no lon-
'ger laid waste, and exposed to Confusion, under the
'plausible pretence of *Not forceing mens Consciences*. To
'put all men into a course of *Order* and *Vniformity* in
'Gods way, is not to force the *Conscience*, but to set up
'God in his due place, and to bring all his people into the
'path of righteousnesse and life.

b Serm: befor the Commons at a publick Fast March 30 1642 p.35.

b 'Be there none of you that foresee the fatal mischiefs
'of leaving all men to their liberties in the things of God
'and yet want hearts to use your Skill and interest to
'make hast to settle matters of Religion, least you come
'too late with a Remedy when the disease is growne in-
'curable, and the Kingdome growne to that passe (as
'the grave Historian noted of old Rome) that it can neither
'beare the malady, nor endure the Cure. c Do you not see
c P.46. 'or hear dayly of the disorders, sects, rents, and Schismes
'that every where bud forth already, and threaten all Or-
'der, Unitie, and Goverment. Give the water but a
'passage without speedy making up the Banks, and you
'know how soon whole Seas will breake in upon us, and
'render all irrecoverable and incurable. If one difficulty
'occur to day, it will be doubled, yea multiplied to
'morrow. There is no *Hydra* so fertil of heads, as *Errour*
'*and schisme* grown to some strength and maturity. It will
d Serm: before the Commons at a publick Fast April 30. 1645. p.51. & 52.

'*aske you but a short time of Connivence, afterwards there*
'*well be no curbing nor shameing of it.* Nothing is so con-
'fident as ignorance, impudent as falshood, and catching
'as Errour.

d 'Take heed of those spirits of Errour, who with faire
'(speciouse, pargetted, glozeing words) seeke to make
'mer-

'merchandize of you, beguiling unstable soules. Beware
'of those compliances with, and indulgences to all sorts of
'Sects and Schismes now pleaded for, both by word and
'writing, as it were part of Christs Legacy, and his
'Peoples' Liberty to be of what Religion they will; to be
'tolerated in any opinions never so erroneous and perni-
'rious (untill further light:) that it is the Magistrates, du-
'ty to protect them in that liberty; and that the contrary
'thereunto is to persecute Christ.

'Hath God inserted this as one maine branch of his
'Grand covenant with his People under the Gospell; *I*
'*will give them one heart and one way that they may fear me*
'*for ever*, * that is, *that they may all call upon the name* Jer. 32.39.
'*of the Lord to serve him with one consent*? Zeph; 3. 9.
'Did Christ *ascend up on high and give gifts unto men*, *and*
'*gave some Apostles, some Prophets, and some Evangelists,*
'*and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the*
'*Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the*
'*body of Christ*, *'till we all come*, εἰς τὴν ἑνότητα τῆς πίστεως. *into*
'*the unity of the Faith*; and, is it Persecution, and Anti-
'christianisme to engage all to *Vnity* and *Vniformity*?
'Doth Paul bid the Philippians to *beware of the Concisi-*
'*on*? Philippians 3. 2. Doth he beseech the Romans
'*to marke those which cause Divisions and Offences*
'*contrary to the doctrine which they had learned, and to*
'*avoid them*; and that upon this ground, that they who
'are such, *serve not the Lord Iesus but their own bellies,*
'*however by good words and fair speeches they deceive*
'*the hearts of the simple*? Rom: 16. 17. Doth he
'writing to the Galatians wish, *I would they were even*
'*cut off that trouble you*, [a] Gal: 5. 12. And is it such an
'hainous offence now, for the faithfull Servants of Christ,

a) *And yet the Author of Libert. of Consc. (p. 32.) tels us that this Text is little to the purpose.*

‘to adviſe you to the ſame courſe? O Heavens? be aſtoniſhed at this; and bluſh for the ignorance of ſome, and impudence of others, that dare ſo boldly preſſe for ſuch a *Toleration*, which none but vaine deſtructive thoughts of carnall men can look upon, without indignation and horror.

‘Beware how you hearken to theſe Empiricks and Syrens, who ſeeke to charme the world into a deep ſleepe, by preſenting their confidence of a neceſſity of complying with all ſorts of Sectaries, yea of truſting the Sword in their hands, and to defer the ſettling of matters of Religion during the war, for feare of looſing the *Godly* Party (as too many proudly ſtile themſelves, by way of difference from all that are not of their opinions and ways) what is this but to teach God a new forme of Politicks, to proclaime, that it is not alwaies ſafe to hold out the truth of the Goſpel, and to command all men to embrace it, but much ſafer to halt between two opinions? Belike *Joſiah* went beyond his bounds, when after himſelfe had ſworn a ſolemne Covenant to the Lord he made all *Judah* and *Benjamin* to ſtand to it, and made all that were preſent in Iſrael to ſerve the Lord their God. 2 *Chron:* 34. 32, 33. and *Aſa* much more, when he drew all the people into a Covenant, That whoſoever would not ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael; ſhould be put to death, whether ſmall or great, man or woman 2 *Chron.* 15. 13. b But the ample and tranſcendent Commendations which the Lord gives unto theſe pious Kings, eſpecially in reference to their ſincerity, and zeale in reforming and ſettling of Religion in one *Vniforme* way, may ſufficiently warrant and encourage all Religious Magiſtrates, to take care that all under their

‘Govern-

b *The Author of Lib. of Conſ. p. 28. aſſures us the contrary when he tells us that* What was done by the Kings of Iſrael & Judah cannot be reaſonably made a rule to Magiſtrats now under the Goſpell.

'Government, ſhould all ſerve the Lord *with one ſhoulder*; 'this being not a Tyranny over men, but the Priviledge 'of the Goſpel, Beware yet at laſt of that thought, 'that *it is not yet time to build the Lords houſe*. Judah paid dear 'for this, as I have heretofore ſhewed you at large, on 'Pſalm: 76. 10. and in my former *Sermon* on this Text, 'and therefore ſhall ſpare my ſelfe and you, the paines of 'inlarging at the preſent. Settle this in your hearts; *Gods 'Truth, the true Worſhip and Diſcipline of Chriſt, ſet 'up and eſtabliſhed in one Vniforme way, never preju-'dic'd any Nation or State (where it had free paſſage) in 'the leaſt degree, but hath ever been their ſafety, happi-'neſſe, and honour*. It is Errour (how much ſoever cry-'ed up) not truth, (how much ſoever cryed downe and 'blaſphemed) that makes and foments rents and factions. a 'Honourable and beloved, yet another word of Exhorta-'tion to judge for God, and as God judgeth. 1. for God. 'There are matters of God, as well as matters of the King 'or Kingdome; the care whereof muſt be upon you, as 'well as upon us; his Church, his Kingdome, his City, 'his houſe, his People, his Spouſe, his Children, his body, 'ye as nurſing Fathers, muſt tender the good and welfare 'of them, that they may find harbour and protection, 'enjoy their juſt priviledges, and Liberties, where-'with *Chriſt hath made them free: not ſuch licentiouſe-neſſe as is abus'd for a Cloake of Naughtineſſe*. Ye muſt 'ſee to order and Unity amongſt them, that there be no 'rents and ſchiſmes; ſurely our Saviour that aſcended into 'heaven *and gave gifts to men, ſome Apoſtles*, &c: that 'wee *might all meet in the Vnitie of faith*; and hath 'divers times, and after ſundry manners, given that very 'thing in charge to his miniſters, would not have the

a *Mr. John Ward of Ipſwich in his Serm: before the Commons March 26 1645 p. 49. Lon printed for C. Meredith. 1645.*

'Magiſtrate left at large from providing, and endeavour-
'ing, *that ſpeaking or following the truth in love, we may grow*
'*up, making increaſe by edifying our ſelves and one another in*
'*Love.*

'Ye muſt doe that, which we are to pray, that ye doe
'*viz. Take a Courſe that Chriſtians may live in a Peacea-*
'*ble and quiet life in Godlineſſe and honeſty, not in ſtrife*
'*and contention.*

'There is ---- His *Name*, it may not be blaſphemed,
'diſhonoured. His *Day*, it muſt be ſanctified.
'His Goſpell. Ye have Authority, and it is your duty
a P.50 'to provide that it be duely preached. a That it be truly
'taught: not blended, adulterated, made another Goſpell

'His *Worſhip*; it muſt not be corrupted by Idolatry, ſu-
'perſtitious *Innovations*, leſt God be worſhipped in vaine
'while they teach for Doctrines the Commandments of
'men. His *Miniſtrie*, it ought to be purged, planted,
'lights ſet up in every bowle of the Candleſtick, encou-
'raged, maintained, and abetted in the work of the
'Lord.

'His *Sacraments*, it is your honour as your duty to ſee
'that they be kept pure in the celebration and miniſtration,
'of them. There is a book-caſe for it. Num. 9. 7.
'there were certaine men &c: but if this be not full, the
'Preſidents. 2 Chron: ch: 15.ch:30. and ch: 35 will
'rule the Caſe for the Civill Magiſtrate, and make out
'this: That where the Doctrine and Diſcipline of the
'Church doth not, or cannot prevaile, the Magiſtrate
'muſt interpoſe his Coercive Power for reſtraint and re-
'medy ---- in a word: God hath many things amongſt us
'that muſt be protected and maintain'd; and the matters
'of God have many adverſaries which muſt be watched,

'and

'and *suppreſſed*; for ye bear not the ſword in vain, ye 'are Gods Miniſters *attending continually upon this very* 'thing. Magiſtrates and Miniſters have (as ye ſee) one 'common ſtyle of Office; that ye in your place, and we in 'our Function and Order, ſhould mind and promove the 'things of God; ye by the *Sword*, and we by the *Word*; you 'are keepers of both Tables, the firſt and great command- 'ment, as well as the ſecond that is like unto it, both 'come ſometimes as occaſion is under your cognizance. [a] 'And ye know what a brand ſticks to this day upon *Gallio* '(though an Heathen Magiſtrate) that he cared not for 'the matters of the Law and Worſhip according to the 'Law when queſtion was brought; no, though there were 'inſurrections and tumults upon that occaſion: and for 'Gamaliels counſell, *Refrain from theſe men and let them* 'alone: *for if this counſell or this work, be of men, it* 'will come to naught; *but if it be of God, ye cannot over-* 'throw it, *leſt happly ye be found even to fight againſt* 'God [b] though it be found within the Bible, yet it is not 'of like Authority with one of Solomons proverbs or 'maximes of Policy: it hath no otherwiſe the approba- 'tion of God for good, then the deſigne of Pharaoh, or 'the craſty counſell of *Achitophel* which are alſo recorded 'in the ſcripture: it will not conſiſt with other rules of the 'word, and hath been condemned as unſound, and 'unſafe by many godly and wiſe men; we have more ſure 'words of ſcripture out of which we draw the doctrine of 'the Magiſtrates power and duty in the matters of God 'and Religion, then the looſe ſpeech of ſuch a Neutraliſt 'and time ſerving Politician as *Gamaliel* was. Go on there- 'fore, I beſeech you as you began; take us the little foxes 'as well as the ravening wolves. [c] Theſe be they who ſepe- 'rate

[a] P. 51.
[b] *If this be true the Auth: of the Prop. for King and Kingdome ſhewed more zeale then knowledge, when having mentioned the Counſell of Gamaliel he thus addes.* I wiſh to the Lord, the great Miniſters of our ſtate would be content to be no wiſer men then *Gamaliel* P. 36.
[c] P. 26.

'rate themſelves, ſenſual not having the ſpirit. They 'Boaſt indeed (much) of the ſpirit, but they manifeſtly 'do the works of the fleſh. They plead for *liberty*, but it 'is *licentiouſneſſe*. *Liberty of Conſcience* they term it, but 'it is *Liberty of practiſe*, that every man may do what is 'good and right in his own eyes. They pretend to nothing 'but *Piety* and *Godlineſſe*, and ſeem as if they would be 'content if they might but have a bare ſubſiſtence in the 'profeſſion of it. So did the *Jeſuites* to learning, when they 'firſt appeared upon the Stage, but when they had once 'inſinuated themſelves into the good Opinion of Princes 'and States, how well they anſwered the expectations, 'and requited the kindneſſe of thoſe who nurſed them up 'all the Chriſtian world ſees and feels to their coſt at this 'day. They aske But *Connivence* and *Toleration*, but if they 'once meet in a confluence, and find themſelves ſtrong 'enough to run in a ſtreame; let but a damme be Pitcht 'down to reſtraine or oppoſe their madneſſe, or men fol- 'low not on, to indulge and gratify their humour, it would 'ſoon appeare, whether or no they would rage & ſwell & 'get over, or bear down afore them all that ſhould ſtand in 'their way. They did ſeem a while to cry up the *Order* of '*Parliaments* and of the *Civil Magiſtrate*, and have their 'perſons in admiration, but meerly for advantage, that ſo 'they may get above all Eccleſiaſticall Authority; & when 'they are once up to their height, what they will do with 'the Ladder, they hope to climbe and aſcend by, is not 'hard to conjecture. They reckon themſelves the *Wheat* in 'the field, and when once they are ripe, they will eaſily 'be content to have all that *threſhed* of, by which they re- 'ceived their growth. Ye have heard of the fable of the 'Snake and the Countryman that brought it unto the fire,

'I

'I shall not need to apply it. Already they begin to re-
'move the old land markes and Straiten their bounds
'they deny their claime up to an high water marke, and
'make their bankes, and incloſe for themſelves to the ve-
'ry channel ſide. But whether it be holden fit or ſeaſona-
'ble that theſe *Libertines* be decried, for my part, I cannot
'yet diſcover by any acti veneſſe to ſuppreſſe them: onely
'ſeeing the evil and foreſeeing the miſchiefe, I have given
'the warning; that at leaſt I may deliver mine own ſouſe.
'*I pray God the remedy be not deferred till it be too late*
'*and ye be driven to play an after-game to an extreame*
'*hazard and diſadvantage.*

a 'I doubt not but your Souls abhor that bloody Te-
'net to the ſoules of men, That it is the duty of the Ma-
giſtrate to Tolerate all Religions. You have carried out
'the Duſt behind the door, and this Opinion will bring all
'the mire in the ſtreets into the houſe of God againe.
'*Cambyſes* had a luſt to marry his ſiſter, and his Counſel-
'lers told him, there was no law whereby to do it: But with
'all they told him, there was a law that the Kings of Perſia
'might do what they liſt, and by this he might marry his
'Siſter. What is it that ſhall be unlawfull, if this be law-
'full for every man to make a Law and Religion for him
'ſelfe?

a Mr. *William Good Serm: before the Comm: March 26. 1645. Lond printed for C. Meredith 1645. P. 36.*

'Put ſome ſtop by your Authority to the growth of
'Errours, that are deſtructive, to the power of Godlineſſe
'and let not this ſuſpend your ſanction, becauſe ſome that
'broach them pretend to *Godlineſſe*; an enemy the more
'like he is to a freind the more dangerous.

'a The third uſe of Confutation; it is of the Remon-
'ſtrants

M. Thomas Thorowgood Serm: before the Commons at a solemn fast Dec. 25. 1644 his Text Phil. 4. *v.* 5. *Let your moderation be known unto all men Lond printed for Chr. Meredith* 1645. *p.* 10

a *Sure this Gentleman is mistaken, I alwaies thought Remonstrants and Arminians had been the same.*

strants, [a]Arminians & Socinians, who endeavour from my Text to get countenance for that *Babyloniſh* Errour, the allowance of all opinions, as if becauſe the Apoſtle ſaith let your moderation be known unto all men, therefore all mens conceits muſt bee born with in Religion, and every one ſuffered in what he ſuppoſeth to be truth. It is a cunning and couſening deviſe, that ſtrikes in with corrupt nature; but becauſe it offers violence to my Text, I cannot be true to it, or you, if ſomewhat be not added by way of vindication; and it ſhall be in theſe ſix particulars. Firſt is it probable that our Apoſtle: who elſwhere almoſt every where is ſo zealous for *Vnity* againſt Schiſmes, ſhould in any ſort *Tolerate* them, and ſo volun tarily open a wide doore for *diviſion*? in this very Epiſtle he writes for Peace even paſſionately but with with mighty power *Phil.* 2. 1. 2. *If there be any conſolation in Chriſt, if any comfort of Love, if any fellowſhip of the ſpirit, if any bowells and mercies, fullfill ye my joy, that ye be like-minded, having the ſame Love, being of one accord, and of one mind.* And in the next Chap. 3. 16. ---- *Let us walk by the ſame Rule, let us mind the ſame thing*: expreſſions different from all licentious Tolerations. The ſame Apoſtle abounds in ſerious Dehorrations from Schiſmes and diſſentions, *Rom.* 13. 12. 16. 17. and *as carnall.* 1 *Cor.* 3. 3. and in other places. And he doth very often exhort with earneſt words and arguments, not only that we be *like-minded*, *Rom*: 15. 6. *Phil.* 2. 2. and of *one mind*, 2 *Cor.* 13. 12. *but of the ſame mind.* 1 *Cor.* 10, 10. *joyned*, yea joynted *together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgement*: And is here the leaſt approbation of that multiplying Doctrine? Neither will that excuſe,

'cuſe, ſo long as they all breath Chriſt, tend to the ad-
'vancement of Chriſt, it matters not: but let *S. Paul* an-
'ſwer this Objection alſo; is *Chriſt divided?* 1 *Cor:* 1.
'13. Conſider it well, and ſeaſon your Conſideration with
'that of our Maſter Chriſt himſelfe, *Mar.*9.50. *Have ſalt*
'*in your ſelves, and have Peace one with another*: If we
'were preſerved by humility from the corruptions of ſelf-
'opinion, it would be no hard matter to embrace uni-
'ty.

'Secondly, ſuch allowance would prove deſtructive to
'holineſs both Perſonall and Domeſticall; *Omnis Religio*
'*& nulla Religio*, would ſoon be the ſame: Suppoſe
'the *Husband* of one Opinion, the *VVife* of another, the
'*Children*, (it may be) of one or two other, and the *Ser-*
'*vants* of as many more; what ſhall the *Maſter* of the
'houſe do here? how perform the Family duties? diver-
'ſity of Opinions, like ſo many hatches interrupting their
'prayers, 1 *Pet.*3.7. chopping all devotion and piety in
'pieces: As the Duke of *Wittenberge* was wont to ſay,
'New Garments introduce new manners, new manners
'bring in new men, and new men thruſt out the old; ſo new
'Opinions ſuffered will devour the old; and the *Toleration*
'of every Religion will deſtroy all Religion, and in conclu-
'ſion leave no Religion at all.

'Thirdly, this Liberty is inconſiſtent with civil tranquility;
'the bleeding condition of our own nation at preſent is a
'living, almoſt a dying witneſſe of this; and if that one Re-
'ligion of Popery, ſo tolerated as it was, hath brought in
'upon us ſo many deſtructions; what will that multiplica-
'tion do, but haſten deſolation without recovery? for eve-
'ry part would endeavour to ſupport it ſelfe, to the pre-
'judice of the reſt, *et dum de Religione certatum eſt Regio,*

'*dum de cælo terra amissa*; as it was said long since.

'Fourthly the late Bishops of *Ireland* may put this Liberty to silence and shame; for when not long since a *Toleration* of Popery in that Kingdome was proposed they said, To give the Papists a *Toleration* is a grievous sin, and will make us accessary to all their Abominations and the perdition of all seduced soules.

'Fiftly this may be currant Doctrine amongst the Turks and *a* the grand Seignior told his Mufti, that is, his chief Priest, As a garden is beautified with variety of of flowers so his Empire would be adorned with diversities of Religion. Let such *Toleration* find allowance in the Turk's Paradise, it shall never, I trust, be planted in the Paradise of God.

'Sixthly Wee have undertaken all in the National Covenant, the establishment of *Uniformity*, and how can that stand with *this Omniformity* indeed *Nullifformity*, I understand not: it was a prodigiouse thing in the dayes of *Jeremiah* the *Prophet*, Jer. 2. 28. according to the Number of thy Cities are thy Gods, *O Judah*: here would soon appear another kind of multiplying and increase; but though this fancy be never so plausible, Divine providence hath shut it out of our campe by our Covenant.

b 'A thing pleasing to God and profitable to the Kingdomes, by which there is and through Gods blessing may be the most famous blow given to the whore of Babylon, and her Bastard Impes that ever yet was: now to have this sticke among us or laid aside, whilst Malignants and Sectaries live in our Bosome, blessing, and in secret applauding themselves, that they have neither taken this nor any of your former protestations. This is our case, and I appeal to wiser Judgements, whether this may not

a) *Defence of Prop. p.* 20 *highly commends this judgement of the wise Emperour* Solyman, *and is sorry that his Adversary is of another humour.*

b M. Humph. Hardwick Ser. before the Comm: June 26. 1644. *Lond printed for Chr. Meredith* 1645. *P.* 43.

'not be the way to leſſen the honour and Authority of the
'high court of Parliament. [a] Conſider I beſeech you (*Wor-*
'*thy Chriſtians*) that the vowes of God are upon you, you
'have abjured *Neutralitie* in your late *Solemne Covenant*,
'far be it from any of you to glory in luke warm indif-
'ference, as if it were a piece of ſingular Policy. You have
'with your Tongues renounced this Neutrality as deteſta-
'ble. Follow the Lord in promoting a National Reforma-
'tion. You have an admirable Patterne; the zealous Pro-
'phet *Elijah*; I wiſh from my ſoule that a double portion
'of his ſpirit may be given unto you, that you may act
'in his power and ſpirit. *Elijah* oppos'd Idolatry and
'Oppreſſion; ſo do ye: down with *Baals Altars*, down with
'[b] *Baals Prieſts*; do not (I beſeech you) conſent unto a *To-*
'*leration* of *Baals* Worſhip in this Kingdome upon any
'Politicke conſideration whatſoever ----- Give me leave
'to be your humble Remembrancer. The mouths of your
'Adverſaries are opened againſt you; the hearts of your
true freinds are griev'd, that ſo many [c] Delinquents are in
'Priſon, and yet but very few of them brought to their
'tryal. [d] Ye cannot preach, nor pray [e] them down direct-
'ly, and immediately ---- well, that which the *Word* can-
'not do, the *Sword* ſhall; that which the water cannot
'waſh out the fire will burn out; unto this particular the
'Apoſtle applies this very [f] Text in part, namely concern-
'ing the ſhakeing of the heavens &c: an Earthquake (as
'we have heard) was appointed to ſhake down the Ce-
'remoniall ordinances; now if this were neceſſary for the
'abolition of that divine Worſhip which had ſometimes
'been by Gods own holy Inſtitution, how much more
'ſhall that which hath beene of human Invention (yea the
'very fumes and fogs of the bottomleſſe Pit) to Gods in-

[a] M. *Arth: Salwey* before the Com: Octob. 25. 1643 p. 19. *Lond. printed for Chr. Meredith.* 1644.

[b] *Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Deans, Chapters. &c.*

[c] *Honeſt Royaliſts.*

[d] M. *Willia Reyner* before the *Com. Aug.* 28. 1644 *Lond. Printed for Sam. Enderby* 1644. p. 12.

[e] *Errours & Herſy.*

[f] *Haggai* 2.6.7.

finite displeasure and dishonour, be tumbled down with violence, and vengeance to hell, from whence it came.

a There is a word of Exhortation behind, and I beseech you suffer it.

a M. Thomas Case Serm: before the Comm: May 26. 1647. p. 33. Lond printed for Luke Fawne at the Parrot in Pauls Church yard, 1647.

First, to you *Honourable and noble Patriots*, who are called to be Reformers and healers of a poor broken Kingdom. Doth not indeed the *punishing* and *suppressing* of spirituall whoredomes against God, *Idolatrie*, *Heresie*, *Blasphemie*, and the rest: doth it not belong unto you, as well as the punishing bodily whoredomes, theft, murder &c:? doth it indeed belong to you only to looke to the civil peace, and to let Religion, and truth, and the worship of God stand or fall to their own master? fight *God*, fight *Divell*, fight *Christ*, fight *Antichrist*, catch that catch can; you have nothing to do but to stand by and looke on, say so then; speake out, publish it in your *Declarations* to the world, and let the People of *England* know that it is the right and liberty, to which the Subjects of *England*, are borne, that Every man hold what he please, and publish, and preach what he holds; that it is the birth-right (as some would have it) of the free born people of England every man to Worship God according to his own Conscience, and to be of what Religion his own Conscience shall dictate. Do so and see (Fathers and Brethren) how long your Civill peace will secure you when Religion is destroyed; how long it will be ere your civill peace be turned into civill war, for no doubt if this once be granted them, but they may in good time come to know also (there be them, that are instructing them evē in these principles too) that it is their birth-right to be freed from the power of Parliaments, and from

'from the power of *Kings*; *and to take up armes against both when they shall not vote and act according to their humours*. Liberty of *Conscience* (falsly so called) may in 'good time, improve it selfe into liberty of *Estates*, and 'liberty of *Houses*, and liberty of *wives*, and in a word 'liberty of *perdition* of *souls* and bodies.

'Right Honourable and worthy Gentlemen, I cannot 'stand to dispute, this only would I know of you; are I-'dolaters, and Hereticks, and Blasphemers, and Seducers 'are they evill doers? if so, then look to your Charge '*Rom.* 13, 4. *Rulers* must be *a Terror to evill Doers* 'unless ye mean *to bear the sword in vaine*. And if you will 'God will not; and if God take the Sword into his own 'hand once, (as he seems to be a doing of it) he will 'smite to purpose; he will execute vengeance throughly: 'both upon the evill doers, and upon you that have not 'been a Terrour to them. Oh therefore up and be doing, 'that ye may deliver the Kingdome out of the hand 'of the Lord; for it is a fearfull thing to fall into the 'hands of the living God. O let not your Patience (I 'hope it is no more all this while) be interpreted a Con-'nivence, and your Connivence be taken for a Toleration, 'it may be the Kingdoms ruine, but it will be your sin.

a 'Fathers and brethren how will ye call this keeping of 'Covenant with God? Had we a Parliament of Apostate 'Julians, of whom it is reported, that at what time he o-'pened the temples of the Heathenish Gods, he set o-'pen the Christian Churches, call'd home all the Chri-'stians whom he had banisht, both Orthodox and Here-'tick, and gave them (as we call it) Liberty of Consci-'ence, but as *Austin* more truly phraseth it, b *Libertatem* 'perditionis, Liberty to destroy themselves; for that was 'his

a *Ser before the Com: Feb.* 19. 1645. *p.* 25.

b *Aug. Ep.* 166. *vid. Ammian Marcel. lib.* 22. *p.* 208. 209 *Edit. Henr: Valesii.*

Defence of the Prop. calls this of Julian a brave and Politick thing. p 98.

Eo modo putans Christianum nomen posse perire de terris &c.

'his Policy and end, namely by liberty of all Religions, 'to destroy the True, and the Professors thereof too. Or 'had we a Parliament of careless *Gallio's* we should not 'wonder: but for a Parliament of Christians, Protestants, 'Professors, the Choisest, the most active that could be 'cull'd out of a Christian State, the like not under heaven; 'that these things should be done, and *you hold your 'Peace*, and be able to keep your places, and *not to put 'on Righteousnes as a Breast-plate, and the Garments of 'Vengeance for your Cloathing*, as it is said of God; this 'makes the Churches abroad to wonder what Englands 'Parliament is a doing, and all at home that love the Lord 'Jesus Christ more then their own *Interests* and *Notions*, 'to be filled with unspeakable trembling and astonishment, 'to wit, what God means to do with this poor bleeding 'Church and State.

a *Ser. before the Comm. Aug. 22. 1645. p. 29.*

a 'If you mean that England shall be turned into a wil- 'dernes, and be over-run with *Atheisme, and Heresie, and 'Prophaneness, and Blasphemy*, you may hold your hands, 'and you need not do it long.

b *Ser. before the Comm: Feb. 19. 1645. p. 25.*

b 'The Errors and Innovations under which we so 'much groan'd of later years were but *tolerabiles ineptiæ*, 'tolerable trifles, childrens play, compared with these 'damnable doctrines, *Doctrines of Devils*, as the Apostle 'calls them: *Polygamy, Arbitrary Divorce, Mortality of 'the Soule, No Ministery, No Churches, No Ordinances; 'No Scripture*, yea, the very *Divinity* of *Christ* and the 'Holy Ghost questioned by some, denyed by others, 'And the very foundation of all these laid in such a 'Schisme of Boundless Liberty of Conscience, viz: Be- 'lieve what you will, and Preach what you Believe*, and 'such *Lawless separation of Churches*: and all these not 'only

c not only whispered in Corners, but Preacht on the house
c top, yea, publisht in *Print* before your faces with so
c much virulency and impudence, that I verily believe no
c Age since the Apostles time could ever parallel.

a c There be a Generation of men in the Land that stand
c up for all kind of false Worship; that every man may
c *Worship God after his own Conscience*, or if they will not
c own it in words at length they will have it in figures: And
c if they may not, are ready, not only to cry, but to act
c Persecution, and that to purpose: for while they cry *Per-*
c *secution gladio oris* they are ready to act persecution *ore*
c *gladii*. I pray God it may never be englished.

a *Sermon before the Commons May 26. 1647. p. 25.*

b c There is great talk of, and pleading for *Liberty of*
c *Conscience*, for men to do in matters of Religion, as Israel
c did in the booke of Judges, whatsoever seemeth good in
c their own eyes; and how that proved there, there are
c sad stories that relate. I shall not goe about to deter-
c mine the question, whether the Conscience may be
c bound or not, though for mine own satisfaction I am re-
c solved it may, and do hold it a truer point in Divinity
c that *errans conscientia liganda*, then *ligat*, but certainly
c *the Devil* in the *Conscience* may be, nay he must be
c bound, or else you act not according to that vigour that
c Christ hath put into your hands, nor according to that
c exactness that Christ requireth at your hands. It is true
c indeed which is so much talked of, that *Christ alone must*
c *reign in the Conscience*, but it is as true also, that *he doth*
c *so by the Power that he hath put into the hands of the Magi-*
c *strate, as well as by his word and spirit.*

b M. *John Lightfoot Ser: before the Comm. Aug. 26. 1645. p. 30. Lond. printed for And. Crook at the Green Dragon in Paul's Church-yard. 1645.*

c c If Conscience be a sufficient plea, the Papist will come
c in for a Childs part. Conscience must have a Rule, it
c binds only *virtute præcepti*, by virtue of a precept. If

c M. *Thom: Watson before the Com: Decem 27. 1649. p. 17. Lond. Printed for Ra: Smith at the Bible in Cornhil 1649.*

c *Conscience*

'*Conſcience* goes againſt the Word, *Deponenda eſt talis* '*Conſcientia.* Get conſcience better informed.

a'I muſt ſay that the *Toleration of all things muſt be a* 'deſtructive *Principle to the State or Church where ever it be* 'allowed. Experience hath ſhewed us no leſs in Kingdoms 'and Churches Called by Gods name. Theſe are only ſug- 'geſted which need a larger Treatiſe to ſtate fully. Ye Ser- 'vants of Chriſt, take heed of yeelding to the pretences of 'Conſcience, the Devil and not Chriſt hath his Throne 'there; And no ſtronger hold for him than Conſcience if 'he once take it. Chriſt will not ſuffer him to ſhelter there, 'therefore ye may not, ſo much as in you lieth.

a *M. Hughes Serm. before the Com: May 26. 1647. p. 34. Lond. Printed for John Rothwell at the Sun & fountain in Pauls Chyard.*

Dub.

'Doe not other States, as ſome of the united Provinces 'tolerate all theſe Hereſies, and protect them, and yet 'they proſper? who more?

Sol.

'I deſire not to deal with other States, unleſs I might do 'them good, I am now only called to our own, yet others 'being made exemplary, a word in ſoberneſs and truth 'may not offend. I ſuggeſt only theſe thoughts.

1. Can any man ſay, that proſperity is a ſign peculiar un- 'to Truth? then let Rome come in and ſpeak more than 'any for outward proſperity.

2. 'Are not ſpirituall wickedneſſes as odious to God 'as carnall? and are not theſe Hereſies ſuch, which God 'condemnes as works of the fleſh, inconſiſtent with the 'Kingdome of Chriſt?

3. 'Hath God made an end yet of viſiting Nations for 'the ſinnes of them? when God hath done judging were 'a better time to urge this Example then now. I pray 'God the evill day may not overtake thoſe States; the 'good Lord cauſe the Cup of trembling to paſs by them 'and purge their iniquities peaceably. But I am preſſed in

'Spirit

'Spirit to say, God hath not spared such State Polities, 'which have sought their own rise by the ruine of God 'and his Truth. Witness *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, 'who made Israel to sin. *And he bids sin that doth not hinder* 'it when he can ----- Gods Truth, my beloved, and not 'mans example must be the Rule ---- if Heresies yet must 'be, let us mourn for what we cannot help; it is a mi- 'serable necessity when not allowed; *it will be rejoycing* 'in iniquity, either for State or Church willfully to tole- 'rate.

Qui non vetat peccare cum potest jubet. Sen.

a 'Though God hath given us glorious victories over 'our Enemies, yet the Churches of Christ ly desolate, 'Church-Reformation is obstructed, Church-Discipline 'unsetled, Church-Divisions increased. The famous Ci- 'ty of *London* is become an *Amsterdam*, *Separation* from 'our *Churches* is countenanced, *Toleration* is cryed up, *Au-* 'thority lyeth asleep. ---- b It would seem a wonder if I 'should reckon how many seperated *Congregations*, or ra- 'ther *Segregations*, there are in the *City*: what *Churches* 'against *Churches* &c. ----- the Lord Knows that I men- 'tion these things with a sad heart. c *Divisions whether* 'they be Ecclesiasticall or Politicall, in Kingdomes, Citties, 'or Families, are infallible causes of Ruine to Kingdoms, Cit- 'ties, and Families.

a M. Ed. Calamy Ser. before the Ld Mayor Jan. 14. 1645. p. 3.

b Ser. before the Lords Dec. 25. 1644. p. 13.

c ut supra p. 4.

d 'Hereby the hearts of People are mightily distra- 'cted, many are hindred from *Conversion*, and even the 'Godly themselves have lost much of the power of *God-* 'liness in their lives. I say the hearts of People mightily 'disturbed, while one *Minister* preacheth one thing as a 'truth of the *Gospel*, and another *Minister* Preacheth 'the quite Contrary with as much *Confidence* as the for- 'mer.

d p. 14.

a P. 17. a 'If Diviſions be ſo deſtructive to *Kingdoms, Cities, and Families*? this reproveth thoſe that are the Authors, and Fomentors of theſe Diviſions that are now amongſt 'us. Theſe are the Incendiaries of England. *If he that 'ſets one houſe on fire deſerveth hanging, much more they that 'ſet a whole Kingdom on fire.* If he that murders one man 'muſt be put to death, much more he that Murders three 'Kingdoms: *Mark them* (ſaith the Apoſtle *Rom.* 16. '17.) *that cauſe diviſions and Offences contrary to the Do-'ctrine which ye have Learned and avoid them.* Avoid them 'as the greateſt enemies of England. Theſe are like the 'Salamander that cannot live but in the fire of contention. 'Theſe are of a *Jeſuiticall* ſpirit. And no doubt the heads 'and hands of the *Jeſuits* are in all our Diviſions.

b P. 33. b 'Take heed of the Land-deſtroying opinion of thoſe 'that plead for an illimited toleration of all Religions, e-'ven of Turkiſme, Judaiſme, &c. The Lord keep us Mat. 12. 25. *Every Kingdom divided againſt it ſelfe is brought to Deſolation.* 'from being poyſoned with ſuch an Error! * This Text 'riſeth up againſt it, for *it will divide a Kingdome againſt 'it ſelf.* It will rend it in a thouſand pieces. It is a Do-'ctrine directly contrary to your late Oath and Covenant. '*A Doctrine that overthroweth all Church Government, 'bringeth in Confuſion, and openeth a wide door unto all irreli-'gion and Atheiſme:* For at the ſame door that all falſe Re-'ligions comes in, the true Religion will quickly get out, 'and if it be as good for a man to live where nothing is 'lawfull, as where all things are lawfull; ſurely it is every 'way as uncomfortable to live where there are all Religi-'ons, as where there is no Religion at all.

c P. 37. c 'It is your Duty (Right Honourable) whom God 'hath betruſted with great Power, to ſuppreſs theſe Di-

'viſions

'viſions and Differences in *Religion*, by your *Civil Au-*
'*thority*, as farr as you are able, leaſt you are acceſſary un-
'to them. For God hath made you *Cuſtodes utriuſq; Ta-*
'*bulæ*, Keepers not of the ſecond Table only (as ſome
'fondly imagine) but of the Firſt Table alſo, and not on-
'ly Keepers, but *vindices utriuſq; Tabulæ*, Puniſhers alſo
'of thoſe that tranſgreſs againſt either of them. For you
'are the *Miniſters of God for good, and Revengers, to exe-*
'*cute wrath upon him that doth evill*, *Rom.* 13. 4. and
'God hath deputed you for the *Puniſhment of evill doers,*
'*and for the Praiſe of them that do well*, 1. *Pet.* 2. 19.
'There be ſome that would blot out halfe your Commiſ-
'ſion, and reſtrain this good and evill, to Civil good, and
'to evils only againſt men. But this is againſt that gene-
'rall Rule, *Non eſt diſtinguendum, ubi Lex non diſtinguit.*
'Where the Law doth not diſtinguiſh, there muſt not
'we diſtinguiſh. Tell me I beſeech you, *Shall it be law-*
'*full for Magiſtrates to puniſh thoſe that deſtroy mens Bodies,*
'*but not thoſe that deſtroy mens Souls?* Shall they be
'blamed for ſuffering men to draw people away from o-
'bedience to the Laws of the Land, and to themſelves,
'and not alſo for ſuffering men to draw away people from
'the Truth of the Goſpell, and from the ways of God,
'ſuch as *Hymenæus* and *Philetus*, who *overthrow the*
'*Faith of ſome, and their words eat as a Canker?* ſhall
'Chriſtian Magiſtrates take up the Maxime of *Tiberius*,
'*Deorum injurias Dis curæ eſſe?* Let God himſelf take
'care to vindicate himſelf from injuries committed a-
'gainſt God? as for mee, I will (juſt like *Gallio*) take
'care of none of theſe things. Can Chriſtian ears endure
'ſuch Language? Doth not God Propheſy, *Iſaiah* 49.
'23. That in the New Teſtament *Kings ſhall be our Nur-*

'*sing Fathers, and Queens our nursing Mothers*? And how 'can a Christian Magistrate discharge that duty aright if 'he hath not power from God, to punish those that would 'poyson the souls of his weak Children with Heresies and 'soul destroying opinions?

Object. 'Will you allow the Magistrate to Tyrannize over 'mens Consciences?

Answ. 'By no means. But I believe it is the duty of Magistrats 'to keep men from infecting their Subjects with soul de-'stroying Errors. If thou hast an Hereticall Opinion, have 'it to thy self, and the Magistrate will not; nay, cannot 'meddle with thy Private Conscience. But if thou labou-'rest to infect others with thy Grace-destroying Opinions, 'I doubt not but the Magistrate is bound to keep thee from 'spreading thy infection to the undoing of the Souls of his 'Subjects. If he may lawfully shut up a man that hath 'the Plague upon his body, that he may not infect others, 'why not a man that hath the Plague of Heresie upon his 'Soul, that so he may not destroy the souls of Thousands. 'Shall a *Master* in a Family have power to put away a '*Servant* that is tainted with a gross opinion, and yet not 'be called a *Tyrant* over that *Servants Conscience*? and 'shall not the *chief Magistrate* of a *Kingdome* have power 'to put out of his Kingdome (at least to shut up from 'doing hurt) one that is his *Subject* and polluted with blas-'phemous, Hereticall, Idolatricall Opinions? *Is not the* '*Kingdom the Magistrats house and Family*?

a 'This is a certain Rule, *That all the Sins of the King-*
a *Ser. before the Comm. Octob. 22. 1644. p. 26.* '*dom which are committed by your connivence or allow-*
'*ance, are the Parliament Sins, and they call for a Parlia-*
'*ment Repentance.* And therefore I beseech you search and

'try

'try your hearts, and consider how far you are accessary 'to the sins of the *Kingdome*, that so you may be wrought 'up not only to a *personall* but a *Parliament* humilia- 'tion. And if it doth appear, that you have taken more 'care in setling your own *Liberties*, then in setling of *Re- 'ligion*; If you have taken more care to build your own 'houses then Gods house, this is a crying Sin; and this 'makes you accessary to a Thousand Sins that are commit- 'ed in the Kingdome. Againe, if you do not labour ac- 'cording to your duty, and according to your power, to 'suppress the *Errors* and *Heresies* that are spread in the 'Kingdome; all these *Errors* are your *Errors*, and these '*Heresies* are your *Heresies*, and they are your Sins, and 'God calls for a *Parliamentary Repentance* from you for 'them this day; You are the *Anabaptists*, and you are the *Antinominians*, and it is you that hold *That all Religions are 'to be tolerated* &c. And these are your Errors if they spread 'by your *Connivence*. For the Sins of the Sons of old Ely 'are imputed to old Ely himself. And when the People 'of Israel had prophaned the Sabbath, *Nehemiah* con- 'tended with the Nobles of Judah for suffering them, and 'tells them, that it was they that did prophane it, be- 'cause they suffered the People to prophane it, *Neh.* 13. '17.

a 'It was none of the Old cause that the People should 'have *Liberty* and the Magistrate should have *no Power in 'all* matters of Gods Worship, faith and Conscience.

'And as it is not the Old Cause, so it is not a 'Good Cause.

'For first it contradicteth the expresse Revelation of the 'will of God in the holy Scriptures. *Moses* had to do in 'matters of Religion as a Magistrate; and so the ruling Elders

a *M. Ric. Baxter Holy Commonwealth. Addition to Pref. Prop. 6. Lond printed for Tho: Underhil at the Anchor and Bible in Pauls Ch: yard 1659.*

'Elders of Iſrael that aſſiſted him; And ſo had the Kings 'of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, as is well known, inſomuch that in '*Aſa's* days they covenanted to put him to Death that 'would not ſeek the Lord God of Iſrael. 2. It tendeth to 'the ruine of the Commonwealth, and therefore it is no 'good cauſe. How God was provoked *By Aarons Calfe*, 'and by his Sons, that offered ſtrange fire which the Lord 'commanded not *Lev.* 10. & what was the effect, & what 'benefit the Calves at *Dan* and *Bethel* brought to Iſrael 'and Jeroboams houſe, and the high places, and other 'Errours about worſhip, brought to the Princes and Peo-'ple of *Judah* we need not particularly recite.

'*Law and providence are quite changed, if Toleration of 'falſe Worſhip and other abuſes of Religion, tend not to the ru-'ine of the Commonwealth.*

'If *Magiſtrates* muſt give Liberty for all to propagate 'a falſe Religion, then ſo muſt *Parents* and *Maſters* alſo '(for their Coercive power is rather leſſe then the Ma-'giſtrates then more, and they are no more Lords of faith 'or Conſcience) But if all Parents and Maſters ſhould 'give ſuch a Liberty, it would be a crime ſo horrid in the 'nature and effects, as I am loath to name with its proper 'Titles.

'A *pari*, it tendeth to the deſtruction of an *Army* to 'give liberty to all men to do their worſt to draw them to 'Mutinies and Rebellion. It tends to the ruine of *Families* 'that all have liberty to do their worſt to tempt the Sons 'to Theft and drunkenneſſe, and the wife and Daughter 'to whoredome. It tends to the Deſtruction of the *Com-'monwealth* if there be liberty for all to perſwade the 'the People to Sedition and Rebellion: And therefore it 'muſt tend to the deſtruction of the Church and mens 'ſouls

'ſouls, and conſequently of the Commonwealth in the 'cheif reſpects, if all have leave to do their worſt to 'preach up infidelity, Mahometaniſme, Popery *or any falſe Doctrine or Worſhip*, againſt the great and neceſſary 'Truths.

'I leave it therefore to the judgement of all men that 'are not faſt a ſleep in their ſecurity, and utterly unac-'quainted with the advantages of the Papiſts, whether this 'deſigne of engageing the Magiſtrate by a fundamentall 'conſtitution, not to meddle with matters of faith and 'Worſhip, but leave them all to Chriſt alone, be not the 'preſent ſetting up of Popery in England, and the deliver-'ing all the fruit of our labours, Prayers and victories into 'the Papiſts hands.

'*Obj.* But Liberty for *Popery* and *Prelacy* is ſtil ex-'cepted.

'*Anſw:* by whom? ---- But if there had been an excepti-'on againſt Popery put in, it would have been to little 'purpoſe, as long as a generall Ruſe is laid down that 'condemneth that exception. For if it be the ſtanding Rule, 'That matters of Religion and faith, and all matters of 'Worſhip are out of the Magiſtrates power; to ſay then 'that *Popery ſhall be excepted from Liberty*, is to ſay the Ma-'giſtrate ſhall intrude into the proper Office of Chriſt 'to reſtraine the Papiſts.

a 'Well, ſeeing theſe things are ſo; that ſin will find 'out *us*; let this be the uſe wee make of it, to be carefull 'to find out *it*; and to begin with that firſt.

'This is that which lies upon us all: But eſpecially '(to ſpeake a word in Seaſon) upon thoſe which have the 'Government of Kingdomes and Commonwealths com-'mitted unto them. Theſe had need to find out ſin more

'eſpecially

a *Mr. Thomas Horton Ser: before the Houſe of Peers. Dec. 30. 1646. Lond printed by F. Neile for Sam: Gellibrand at the brazen ſerpent in Pauls Church-yard. 1646. p. 35.*

a P. 36. ‘ especially, for the safety and welfare of that State, which ‘ they have the ordering and managing of.

a ‘ First their own Personall Sins.

b p. 37. & 38. *b* ‘ Secondly they are to find out also the sins of the ‘ *Kingdome*. I have already Administer'd some help in this ‘ performance, by the hint of those Sins before mention'd; ‘ all which I humbly desire may be taken into serious Con- ‘ sideration, and especially (which grows so much upon us ‘ and which threatens so much evil to us) the Sin of *Li-* ‘ *bertinisme* and *Toleration*, which is the ring-leader of all ‘ the rest and involves all others with it. O that this should ‘ ever be once mentioned amongst us here in *England* ‘ who have enjoyed so much of the Gospell of Truth as ‘ wee have done; derived to us from our Godly fore-fa- ‘ thers, sealed to us by the blood of the Martyrs, prosecut- ‘ ed with so many Blessings, and victories, and Gratious ‘ successes both of former and latter times, to the admi- ‘ ration both of Enemies and Friends; is this the fruit and ‘ issue of all that God hath done for us? and do all over- ‘ tures of Reformation come to this? Surely God cannot ‘ but take it very ill from us, that we should but incline ‘ and leane hereunto; As he said to David of his building ‘ of the Temple; Thou didst well that it was in thine heart ‘ and accordingly was well pleased with him. So will he ‘ say to us, of our Contrary carriage; That it is ill that ‘ it is in our heart; if so be, it be come so far, as ‘ I hope it is not. What? when we have so much appear- ‘ ed against *Popery* and *Superstition*, shall wee now begin ‘ to think of *Indifferency* and *Toleration*? Certainly it's ‘ but a sorry exchange of a Bad Religion for none. Al- ‘ though indeed it will be no exchange, but rather a fur- ‘ ther Confirmation: Toleration of all other Errours doth

‘ but

'but ſtrengthen Popery amongſt the reſt; *which will at*
'*leaſt think ſo well of it ſelf, as to come in for a Childs*
'*Part.*

a' There is a Generation who look for much at your
'hands, and yet ask nothing, I mean by way of humble
'Petition. When they find you, or themſelves in ſuch a
'poſture, as that they cannot be denied, it may be you
'may hear of them. Beſides the many looſe, prophane,
'and ſcandalous Miniſters, there are a new ſort riſen a-
'mongſt us, who have thruſt themſelves into the Lords
'Vineyard. It's no leſs then *Perſecution* (ſo they com-
'monly give out) to deſire that their ſuſpitious Opinions
'may be examined according to the word of God, and they
'commanded to forbear the publiſhing and ſpreading of
'them for the preſent. There be many dangerous Books
'abroad, dangerous at leaſt, 'Ile ſay no more.

a M. *Lazar. Seaman Ser. before the Comm. Sept.* 25. 1644. *Lond printed by E.G. for J. Rothwell at the Sun in Pauls Church yard.* 1644. *p.* 41.

Liberty of Conſcience.
The Bloudy Tenent.
The compaſſionate Samaritan.
John Baptiſt.

b' Conſider alſo, *c* His failings and beware of them.
'1. He had many Wives, *d* even ſeaven hundred Wives,
'Princeſſes, and three hundred Concubines. Let not us
'have as many Religions. There's ſome Analogy between
'the one and the other. 2. There was in his daies firſt a
'*Connivance* at Idolatry, then open *Toleration*, and with-
'all *Apoſtacy*. Theſe Wives turned away his heart after
'other Gods; *v.*4. He built an high place for *Chemoſh* the
'Abomination of *Moab*, and for *Molech* the Abominati-

b *p.* 44.
c *Solomons.*
d 1 *Kings* 11. 3.

'on

'on of the Children of *Ammon*, and likewiſe did he for all his ſtrange Wives, *v.* 7, 8. Obſerve the Gradation, first *Connivance*, then open *Toleration*, herewithall *Apoſtacy*.

a M. Matth. Newcomen Ser: before the Parliament. Sept. 12. 1644. Lond. printed for Ch: Meredith 1644. p. 31.

a 'No Reformation of Religion now: now nothing will ſatisfy ſome, but a *Toleration of all Religions. and all Opinions*: *Church-Government*, *Diſcipline* is to ſome a fiction, to others *Tyranny*, and *Perſecution*, Ah Brethren, this is a Provocation and will be a Provocation, for this God may turn us into the Wilderneſs again.

b P. 36.

b 'We are grown beyond Arminianiſme, Browniſme, Anabaptiſme; we are come (I mean many among us) to down-right Libertiniſme. There are two Opinions, which if encouraged (and they are encouraged if connived at) will open a door to Turciſme, Judaiſme, Atheiſme, Polytheiſme, any monſter of Opinion. The one is. That *every man is to be left to the Liberty of his own Religion*, an Opinion contended for by the *Bloody Tenets*, *John Baptiſt*, *Liberty of Conſcience*, and the like Pamphlets. An opinion moſt pernicious and deſtructive, as to the Souls of men, ſo to the Common-weale of the Kingdome.

'*Libertas illa quidlibet credendi* (ſaith Gerard) *nihil aliud quam Libertas errandi &c.* That Liberty of believing what men will (or of holding what Faith they pleaſe) is no other then a liberty of erring, and of erring in a matter that concerns the eternall Salvation of the Soule, wherein to erre cannot but be moſt dangerous and deſtructive ----- Diverſity of Religion diſ-joynts and diſtracts the minds of men, and is the Seminary of perpetuall hatreds, jealouſies, Seditions, Warres, if any thing in the World be; and in a little time, either a Schiſme in

'the

'the State begets a Schisme in the Church, or a Schisme 'in the Church, begets a Schisme in the State. That is, 'either Religion and the Church is prejudic'd by Civill 'Contentions, or Church controversies and disputes about 'Opinions break out into Civill Warrs. *Men will at 'last take up Swords and Spears, instead of Pens, and defend 'by Arms, what they cannot do by arguments.* Once for all, it 'is the Preservation and Reformation of Religion which 'you have Covenanted to endeavour, and not a Liberty of 'Opinion, that will consist with neither. It is the Extir- 'pation of Heresy and Schisme that you have Covenant- 'ed; which if to be connived at, why doth the Apostle 'reprove the Corinthians for their Schisme, so much? and 'why doth our Lord Jesus commend the Angell of the 'Church of *Ephesus*, for trying those which said they were 'Apostles, and were not? And why is the Angell of the 'Church of *Thyatira* reproved for suffering that woman 'Jezabel who called her self a Propheteſs, to teach and se- 'duce. *If once we come to this, that any man be suffered to 'teach what he pleaseth to seduce whom he list, to be of 'what Faith or Religion seems good in his own eyes, 'farewell Covenant, farewell Reformed Religion, farewell 'the Peace and Glory of England, if that day once come.* 'But you (Right Honourable) I hope better things of you 'though I thus speak. I hope while you live and sit in 'Parliament, this shall never be. It is not usuall, nay, it is 'not possible that they which love God sincerely, should 'desire to cherish differing Religions: for it is most certain 'he that admits contrary Religions, believes neither of 'them.

a 'But then the question will be, Seeing there will be 'difference of judgment and Opinion, while we are upon

a *Serm: at Pauls Feb.* 8. 1646. *Lond. printed for Ch: Meredith* 1646. *p.* 14.

P. 14. ‘earth, then how, or how far is this difference of judge-
‘ment to be permitted? how or wherein may Christians
‘differ from one another in judgement, and yet ought to
‘be Tolerated and born with?

Anſ. ‘This is my Brethren a very grave and difficult Queſti-
‘on; and to me, conſidering how many places there are
‘wherein the Holy Ghoſt calls upon us to endeavour to
‘be of one mind, of the ſame mind, and of the ſame judg-
‘ment, it is eaſier to tell you, wherein we may not differ
‘in judgement, and wherein differences in judgement
‘may not be *Tolerated*, then to tell you wherein they
‘may.

‘Firſt therefore, I ſay, that as an abſolute unity in judge-
‘ment, that we ſhould all be of the ſame mind in all things,
‘is ſcarce to be attained in this life, though it be to be
‘endeavoured; ſo an Univerſall and abſolute Liberty of
‘judgement, for every man to differ when he pleaſeth,
‘and in what he pleaſeth, to be of what Opinion and Faith
‘he will, is not to be endeavoured, if it might be attain'd,
‘nor is it to be Tolerated or permitted. I know no war-
‘rant, no pretence of warrant for it, in all the Book of
‘God: Scripture no where ſaith, Let every man be of what
‘Opinion, and of what Faith he pleaſeth, let every man be
‘left to his own judgement.

‘Particularly, Liberty of Opinion or Judgment is
‘not to be granted, or indulged, in ſuch things as are in-
‘jurious to God, and Deſtructive to the Souls of men;
‘nor wherein the Difference of judgement and Opinion
‘will neceſſarily and unavoidably, *ex natura rei*, produce
‘a Rent and Schiſme in the Church of Chriſt. 1 *Cor.* 1. 10.
‘*Now I beſeech you Brethren, by the Name of our Lord*
‘*Jeſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeak the ſame thing, and that*
‘*there*

'*there be no Diviſions among you, but that ye be perfectly* '*joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judge-* '*ment. Rom.* 10. 17. *I beſeech you Brethren mark them* '*that cauſe Diviſions and Offences among you, contrary to the* '*Doctrine that you have received*, and -------- what? *Tol-* '*lerate them?* no, *avoid them. Gal.*5.12. *I would they were* '*even cut off that trouble you.* Nothing can be clearer then 'theſe *Scriptures* are, againſt the *Toleration* of all Do-'ctrines, and particularly of thoſe that Trouble, Rend, Di-'vide the Church.

a '*But* (to ſpeak a little to the Poſitive) if there be a a P. 18.
'Latitude, and a Liberty of judgment left, it is firſt in ſuch 'things as are not clearly and Poſitively laid down in *Scri-* 'pture, and therefore are not of the Fundamentalls, and 'and eſſentialls of Faith and Worſhip; for there is for 'theſe, clear and undoubted Light of *Scripture.*

'*Secondly*, it is in things that are of private and ſingle 'practice, and not of open converſe, or Church-fellowſhip 'and Communion. And yet even in theſe things, this Li-'berty is not to be aſſumed, at leaſt, not to be practiſed 'without much tenderneſs and circumſpection.

'Firſt, care muſt be had of keeping thoſe Opinions 'wherein we differ from others, private to our ſelves, not 'troubling or perplexing the Conſciences of others with 'them. This is the injunction. *Rom.* 14. 22. *Haſt thou* 'Faith? *have it to thy ſelfe before God.* The Faith there 'ſpoken of, is a particular perſwaſion, touching the free 'uſe of all Creatures, and the Liberty of all dayes. And 'this Faith, this Perſwaſion was according to the Truth '(as is clear by the Apoſtles Argumentation in that Chap-'ter) yet ſaith the Apoſtle, *Haſt thou Faith? have it to thy* '*ſelf before God*: do not ſay, I am fully perſwaded of

'my

'my Liberty, and therefore I ought to profess it, and hold 'it out in my practice, whatever become of others; it is 'the truth of God, and I must hold it forth: No saith the 'Apostle, have it to thy self. And if a man who hath a 'private opinion in *re media*, must keep it to himself, 'though it be a truth, much more must they whose opi-'nions are false and erroneous. *Certainly there is scarce 'any difference of judgement so small, and in it self inconside-'rable, but the divulging and Propagating of it may prove 'very dangerous and Pernitious, and in the event intolle-'rable.*

'Suppose a man should be of this Opinion, that it is 'unlawfull to eat things strangled, or blood: if such a man 'keep his opinion to himself, and make it a rule only to 'his own practice: let him enjoy it 'till he can be other-'wise informed, and perswaded in his Conscience. But 'if he will now go publish this Opinion, and intangle the 'Consciences of others, and seek to draw disciples after 'him, and make a party, and cause Division and Dissenti-'on amongst the People of God, this is not to be tolera-'ted.

'Private Persons of a differing judgement, if they live 'quietly, frequent the publick Assemblies of Worship, 'and are not discerned to disturb the Peace either of *S*tate 'or Church, by any secret underminings, are to be tolle-'rated, in hope of their Conversion, and for publick Peace 'sake. But if these men shall begin to spread their *E*rrors 'in publick, to inveagle and draw others to them, to be-'guile the simple, and so to trouble the publick Peace, 'they are to be restrained.

a P. 21. *a* 'Had all that profess the Gospel in England, made 'Conscience to be of the same mind, and the same judge-'ment

'ment with their Brethren and the reſt of the Churches
'of Chriſt, as far as poſſibly; and where they cannot,
'where there is a neceſſity of differing, had they made
'*Conſcience* to keepe their diffences from appearing in
'*Publick*, to have their private opinions and faith to
'themſelves and not intangle the weake with their doubt-
'full Diſputations; forbeareing to judge or deſpiſe thoſe
'that are not of their opinion, loving them ſtill as *Brethren*,
'not cenſuring them as Profane, Antichriſtian, fighters
'againſt God, men that will willfully ſhut their eyes a-
'gainſt the Light; had theſe things (I ſay) beene attended
'to on all hands, our breaches had never beene ſo great
'as now they are, nor ſhould the lovers of truth and Peace
'have had ſo much cauſe to lament them.

a 'But where is the fault you will ſay? True it is there a P. 40
'are diviſions, ſad diviſions, danger threatening diviſions a-
'mong us, but where is the fault? I know there are many
'that lay all the fault upon thoſe whom they call Presby-
'terians, and ſay it is their rigour, and their pride and am-
'bition, their Spirit of Domination that is the cauſe of
'all theſe diviſions; Thus ſay the *Antinomians*, and thus
'the *Separatiſts*, and thus the *Anabaptiſts*, and thus the o-
'thers ſay. Now the Lord judge between us and them,
'and let his people that hear judge this day.

'Who are they that divide in judgement from all the
'Reformed Churches of Chriſt in the world, that have
'Opinions and judgements differing from the Opinions
'& judgements of all the Reformed Churches? we or the
'*Anabaptiſts*? we or the *Separatiſts*, we or the ——? Poſſi-
'bly they will all ſay, they are of the ſame Opinion with
'the Reformed Churches in fundamentalls, as well as we,
'and their differences, are but *in minutiaribus*. Now ſup-
'poſing

'poſeing this to be true (as it may be in ſome of them)
'why then do they tranſgreſſe the Apoſtles rule? why do
'they not if that it be in matters of leſſer moment wherein
'they differ from us, why do not they keep their opinions
'private, and have their faith unto themſelves before God?
'why do they upon ſo ſmall differences (if the differences
'be ſo ſmall) withdraw from Communion with us and
'the reſt of the Churches, and gather themſelves into
'diſtinct and ſeparate Churches? ----- their holding one
'head & one faith, doth not excuſe them from being guilty
'of breach of Unity and downright Schiſme, ſo long as
'they hold not one body, one baptiſme. *χίσμα ſive διχοστασία*
eſt cum alii aliis &c. Schiſme or diviſion (ſaith he) is this;
'When men are ſo addicted to ſome men, or to ſome out-
'ward rites, that though they do agree in the cheif points
'of Religion, yet they are eſtranged in their minds, and
'engage themſelves into parties and factions. Now who
'are they that though they profeſſe to agree with us in
'Doctrine have yet made a ſeceſſion, withdrawne them-
'ſelves gathered Churches, engaged Parties? Conſider and
'give ſentence.

Beza annot. in 1 Cor. 1. 10.

'Who are they that have moſt broken the band of
'Love? There is great fear what the *Preſbyterians* will do if
'once they get power into their hands; but in the meane
'time what do others? who are they that brand their Bre-
'thren with the Title, *Proud*, *Time-ſervers*, *Prelatical*, *Ty-*
'*rannical*, *Antichriſtian*? And what is this leſſe then
'*Perſecution.*

'Who are they that haue been fartheſt from conde-
'ſcending to their Brethren for peace and union ſake?
'were it fit, I could ſay ſomething of this, yea much: I
'could tell you much hath beene yeelded and much more
'would

'would be yeelded, yea almost any thing, but that one 'thing that would lay a foundation of perpetuall *Division* 'and dis-union in *Families*, *Church*, *Kingdomes*? Who are 'they that profess an utter impossibility of reconciliation 'or union, and plead for nothing but *Toleration*, *Toleration*, 'and some for *Toleration* in the utmost Latitude, to *Papists*, 'Jews, *Turks*, the very artifice whereby the *Arminians* in 'Holland sought to gain a party, and strength unto them-'selves? Resolve these Questions, and they will resolve 'you who are most guilty of these Divisions.

a 'By a Declaration set forth above Thirty years agoe, 'King James (of Famous memory) was pleased to let the 'World know, not only how ill he resented, and how 'much he detested the *Vorstian*, and *Arminian* Doctrines, 'then newly born and in their swadling-cloaths; but al-'so how sollicitously he interposed with the States Ge-'nerall of the United Provinces, against their admittance 'of *Vorstius* into the place of *Divinity* Professor of *Leiden*, 'or into their Country. And that he might decline the 'envy of being in *aliena Republica curiosus*, he bears him-'self upon that common rule, *Paries cum Proximus ardet*; 'when a Neighbours house is on fire, it concerns all in the 'Neighbour-hood to look about them. This Vigilancy con-'demnes our (I know not what to call it, I wish no worse 'might be said then) insensibleness and security. For 'what were those sparkes at that time smoaking in a re-'mote corner, in comparison of that fire which now flames 'forth at every corner of our house, blown up by that 'αὐτονομία, or liberty of all *Religions*, which may be just-'ly called, the Golden Calfe of these times, whereunto 'many are not unwilling to contribute their strength & Po-'licy, and whose Birth-day, they would not fear to call *fe-*

a M. *Richs Vines Ser. before the Com: Mar:* 10. 1646. *Lond. print. for Abel Roper.* 1647 *p.* 1.

'ſtum Jehovæ, an acceptable day unto the Lord. Are not 'the errors which are riſe amongſt us, either by infecting 'Perſons of Place and Quality, grown into that boldnes? 'or by carrying away *Barnabas* alſo, crept into that cre-'dit? or by ſpreading far and wide, riſen to that ſtrength? 'that they do face, if not ſeem able to put into danger of 'rowting, our common Faith, Publick Worſhip, authori-'zed Miniſtry, long and much expected, and promiſed 'Reformation. This to the common Enemy, is the *Cape 'of good hope*; the ſound part are afraid, leaſt the Truth 'ſhould come to beg for poor quarter, and be led Cap-'tive, following the Chariot of triumphant Liberty. Some 'think that *Epiſcopacy* in his *Pontificalibus*, may by this 'means be retrived, and recalled from exile, to which it 'was ſentenced by the *Covenant*. Many that are as diſtant 'in their Opinions as the two Poles, yet moving upon 'one axeltree, or tyed together by the tayles of common 'Intereſt, doubt not but by laying their ſtocks together 'they ſhall be able to bid fair for a *Toleration*.

'And that we might not be left alone to wonder at our 'ſelves, our ſympathizing Brethren abroad do wonder alſo, 'That we ſhould be made the common Sewre to receive 'the Garbage of other Churches, and that their ſtinking 'ſnuffes ſhould be allowed Candleſticks here in Eng-'land.

'In this ſad Poſture of things, all mens eyes have been 'upon the *Parliament*, and every one ſaith, *Is there no 'Balme in Gilead? Is there no Phyſitian there? Why then 'is not the health of the Daughter of my People recove-'red?*

a 'Endeavour vigorouſly to compound our Differences 'in Eccleſiaſticall concernments. Alas, alas, my heart 'akes

a M. *Simeon Aſh Serm. before the Lords Feb. 26. 1644. Lond. printed for Edw. Brewſter 1645. p. 32.*

'akes, becauſe of our breaches. Let mine eyes run down 'with tears night and day, and let them not ceaſe, for the 'Virgin Daughter of my People is broken with a great 'breach, with a very grievous blow, *Jer.* 14. 17. What 'Factions and Fractions, what *Schiſmes* and Separations, 'what Rents and Diviſions are in this poor, diſtracted, 'Diſtreſſed Church of *England*? how ſhould either King-'dome or Church divided ſtand? *God forbid, but tender 'reſpect ſhould be had to tender Conſciences. But* (Right Ho-'nourable) *I beſeech you take heed, leaſt under that pretext, 'you think of Tolerating all Religions amongſt us.* Such Liber-'ty (I am afraid) would uſher in Libertiniſme, and haſten 'our deſolation.

a 'It is commonly replied in Pulpits, in Preſſes, That 'a *Toleration* of all conſciences, even Antichriſtian, would 'be a Soveraign remedy to cure all diſſentions, and an ef-'fectuall means to compoſe the Wars of Chriſtendome: 'all the blood that hath for ſo many years been ſhed, is 'charged upon the reſtraint of this licentiouſneſs, *ignorantly 'or malitiouſly termed Perſecution.*

a Mr. *James Cranford Serm. before the L. Mayor Feb.* 1. 1645 *Lond. printed for Char: Greene* 1646. p. 11. & 12.

'I anſwer, it is beſides my purpoſe to diſcuſs this 'queſtion of Toleration, only for the preſent I enquire, 'Firſt; Would theſe men that ſo hotly defend it, grant 'that *Toleration* (if they had power in their hands) to others 'which they deſire for themſelves? I doubt it. The *Arri-'ans* did ſometimes ſeem as earneſt enemies to *Perſecuti-'on* as theſe men; yet when they had *Authority* on their ſide, 'they raiſed *Perſecution* againſt the *Orthodox*, more terri-'ble then the heathen Emperours againſt the Chriſtians, 'which the Churches of the Eaſt moſt grievouſly *b* com-'plained of.

b *Binii Tom.* 1 *conc. p.* 686.

'*Athanaſius* at large deſcribeth, and having ſpoken 'much

'much of their inhumane, and more then belluine cru-
'elty against all Sexes, all Ages, both living and dead, con-
Epist. ad Solitar. 'cludes, that he had said less then their inhumanity was,
'because it exceeded all expression.

'The *Donatists* did ordinarily plead for *Toleration*, and
'seemed the most inveterate enemies to all disturbance
'for *Conscience* sake; yet when under the Apostate *Julian*
a Con. lit. Petil: l. 2. c. 82. 'they had gotten power, who can declare (saith *a Austin*)
'what havock they made of the Orthodox? *b* All *Africa*
b Opt. cont. Parm. l. 2. 3. 'was filled with blood and desolation; Men were rent, Ma-
'trons dragged, Infants slaughtred, Women with child
'miscarried, none were secure in their houses, the
'wayes were not safe for Travelers; the Letters of them
'that boasted to be the *Captains* of the *Saints* were ter-
'rible to all. Are our men led by another Spirit? Sure I
'am, that one of them, that with most earnestness, or
'impudence pleads for *Toleration*, was lately of another
'mind in the case of *Familists* and *Antinomians* in *New-*
'*England*.

c P. 13. *c* 'Secondly would such *Toleration* conduce to the esta-
'blishing of Peace in the Common-wealth? hath it ever
'done it? Possible it is, that the equality of Powers may
'perswade each Party for a Season to suppress their inward
'rancour; can *Toleration* take it away, so that it shall not
'break out upon sensible advantages by the increase of
'strength? let the experience of former Ages, and present
'times teach this.

'Errour may Tolerate errour, *sævis inter se convenit ursis*,
'but can darkness agree with light? or *Wolves* with *Sheep*?
d De præscrip. cont. Hæret. c. 41. 'd *Tertullian* observes concerning *Hereticks* of old, they a-
'greed well enough one with another; for though they dif-
'fered in private opinions, yet they joyned in one, in the
'opposing

'opposing of Truth. You *Persecute* (saith *Austin* of the *Donatists*) where you are able; where you *Persecute* not, you are not able to doe it, restrained by the fear of Laws, or envie, or the multitude making resistance. p. 14.

'I have been long upon this poynt; but I will conclude 'it, with that solemn Embassie, which the Orthodox Fathers, Assembled in Councell at *Sirmium*, sent to the 'Emperour *Constantius*. I have insisted the longer, a that 'it might appear to all, that the Toleration of Errour, is 'not a way to Peace, as some men pretend, but to disorder and confusion: And yet I am not an enemy to Peace, 'but a friend to Truth, and Holiness, without which no 'Man shall see God.

a *Athan. de Syn. Arim. & Seleuc.*

b Ministers ought now to be intent to the errours of the 'times, both in Doctrine and Practise, and observe what 'is the proper work of the day, and Preach accordingly, 'taking heed of being guilty of sinfull silence, whilest 'Christ and his truth suffers. We have too many wounds 'with which we have been wounded, in the house of our 'friends: many Ministers have and doe undoe us; some 'by their totall silence; others by speaking too favourably 'of the Sects, and too much daubing; 't's high time now 'to speak out, when the truth of God, the Faith once 'delivered to the *Saints*, more pretious then our lives, is 'almost lost, three Kingdomes almost ruin'd, and all the 'reformed Churches in their Truth and Peace hazarded. 'They that can now be silent, well contented, and let the 'Wolves come freely and not barke, they deserve to be 'accounted dumb dogs. Let therefore, all Godly Orthodox Ministers, who would not have all run to ruine, stir 'up themselves, and lift up their voices like Trumpets, 'stand no longer looking on, as idle spectators, or halting 'between

b *A serious & passionate Admonition to the Clergy; in the words of M. Tho. Edwards in his Gangræn: part. 1. p. 84. Lond. print. for Ralph Smith at the Bible in Cornhill 1646.*

'between two; for he that is not now with God in his 'cauſe is againſt him, and he that gathereth not ſcatter-'eth ----- And that Miniſters in our times may be a means 'to prevent and ſuppreſſe the Errours, *Hereſies* and '*Schiſmes*, they muſt not onely often preach againſt them, 'but they ſhould ſet themſelves againſt all the ways by 'which Errours are come in, and are farther comeing up-'on us, and oppoſe them by Preaching & writing; as Lay-mens Preaching, the Gathering of *Churches*, and above all a '*Toleration*, for that would be an open doore, at which all 'kind of *Hereſies* would come in, and no man could keep 'them out: and therefore if Miniſters will witneſſe for 'Truth and againſt Errors, they muſt ſet themſelves in 'a ſpeciall manner againſt a *Toleration*, as the principall 'inſet to all *Hereſie* and Error; And if a *Toleration* be 'granted all preaching will not keep them out: For as it 'hath been anſwered the Patrons of Images, (who plead 'let them ſtand, but Preach againſt the VVorſhipping of 'them) that if they ſtand, preaching will not take away 'all the danger; tis not ſufficient to keep the People from 'all Idolatry; ſo ſay I in this caſe. If a *Toleration* be 'granted, the Devill will be too hard for us, though we 'preach never ſo much againſt them. *A* Toleration will 'undoe all. Firſt bring in Sceptiſme in Doctrine, and 'looſenes of Life, and afterwards all *A*theiſme.

'The Patrons of Error, becauſe they cannot at firſt 'plead for ſuch and ſuch Doctrines *in terminis*, and yet 'hold them, and would have them propagated, therefore 'they plead for a Toleration, which once being granted 'they will come in then of courſe. O let the Miniſters there-'fore oppoſe Toleration, (as being that by which the Di-'vel would at once lay a foundation for his Kingdom to all

'Gene-

Generations) witneſſe againſt it in all places, poſſeſſe the Magiſtrate of the Evill of it, yea, and the People too, ſhewing them how if a Toleration were granted, they ſhould never have peace in their Familes more, or ever after have command of VVives, Children, Servants, but they and their Poſterities after them are like to live in diſcontent, and unquietneſſe of mind all their dayes.-- *a* I might ſhew how the Paſtors of the Reformed Churches (namely thoſe who were ſtars of the Firſt Magnitude) were againſt the Toleration of Anabaptiſts, Libertines, and other Sectaries in their time, and what they did and writ againſt it; as *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Peter Martyr*, *Philip Melanæthon*, *Zanchius*, *Beza*, *Knox*, *Bullinger*, *Muſculus*, ----- *b* As alſo how in *England* in *Queen Elizabeths dayes*, learned Biſhops and Godly Miniſters were againſt the ſuffering of many Religions in this Kingdome: as Biſhop *Jewel*, Biſhop *Babington*, Biſhop *Bilſon*, Mr. *Cartwright*, & Mr. *Perkins*, who in his learned workes on *Revel.* 2.20. ſpeakes thus; *Every man is not to be left to his own Conſcience; to teach and hold what Doctrine he will, But all ſuch men or women as teach erroneous Doctrine, by the Government of the Church are to be reſtrained.* ---- *c* Did I ſay *the Arch-Biſhops*, *Biſhops*, *Deanes*, *Doctors*, *Court-Chaplains*, and *Biſhops-Chaplains*, (for there were ſome of all theſe ſorts oppos'd) hazard the favour of King, Nobles, great Courtiers, the loſſe of all their Preferments, *Arch-Biſhopricks*, *Biſhopricks*, *Deaneries*, great liveings to withſtand a *Toleration*; And ſhall the Miniſters of our times ſuffer a *Toleration* of all Sects to come in upon us, in a time when the greateſt Reformation is pretended that ever was in this Kingdome, and a Parliament ſitting, and be either wholly ſilent or oppoſe faintly; be afraid

a p. 87.

b p. 88.

c p. 91.

'afraid of displeasing some great man, or hazarding a lit-
'tle estate and liberty? was the Lukewarme Angel whom
'God hath cast out of his Church, for not being zealous
'enough, yet so zealous as to hazard all against a *Tolera-*
'*tion* of *Popery*? And shall the *Presbyterians Orthodox*
'Godly Ministers be so cold as to let *Anabaptisme*,
'*Brownisme*, *Antinomianisme*, *Libertinisme*, *Independency*,
'come in upon us, and keep in a whole Skin? Certain-
'ly the Bishops and their Chaplains shall rise up in judg-
'ment against the Ministry of this Generation, who ap-
'peared against the mind of the King, Council, and so
'powerfull a faction as was for Popery, and the *Toleration*
'of it in those dayes, if they be silent or mealy mouthed,
'besides the shame and dishonour of it here, before the
'Churches abroad, and good men at home, who will lay
'all the blame upon the Ministers, and say, Wee may
'thanke them for this, for dealing no more freely, nor
'faithfully with the Kingdom, crying out, an unworthy A-
'ssembly, an unworthy Ministry in City and Country, to
'sit still and suffer all these Errors and poysonous Prin-
'ciples, in Books, Sermons to come in upon us, and to
'passe unquestioned.

O for a *Burgesse*, a *Calamy*, a *Case*, a *Baxter*, an *Edwards* &c. to write Preach, &c.

'O for some *Gabriel Powells*, *Downams*, *Abbots* &c: to write, preach, remonstrate, protest against the Errors and wayes of these times. Tis want of courage and speaking out hath undone us; and 'tis onely boldnesse and freedome in speakeing, to declare particularly such books come forth, such Sermons preached, such practices plaid, such persons preferred and suffered, such partiality used &c: in reference to the *Sectaries*, that must recover us; theres no way to put a stop to things, and save all from ruine, but present courage and Heroick resolution,

'and

'*and lets speak out, and suffer no longer a company of giddy*
'*cunning self-seeking Sectaries, to betray the Truth of God,*
'*and to abuse and undoe two Kingdoms* ---- Lets therefore
'fill all *Presses*, cause all *Pulpits* to ring, and so possess Par-
'liament, City, and whole Kingdom against the *Sects*,
'and of the evill of *Schisme*, and a *Toleration*, that we may
'no more hear of a *Toleration*, nor of Seperated Churches,
'being hatefull names in the Church of God. *AMEN*
'*AMEN.*

a' For if it be lawfull for every man to entertain and hold
'what opinion he pleaseth, how differing soever from the
'opinion and judgment of the rest of the Church and Peo-
'ple of God, yet this is his opinion, and his judgement is
'perswaded of it, and he must follow his own judgement,
'and this liberty of judgement be (as some say) *Liberty of*
'*Conscience*, part of the Liberty purchased by Jesus, and
'to restrain it, or set bounds to it, is in their language *Per-*
'*secution*, *Tyranny*, *&c.* If this were true, sure *Paul* did ve-
'ry ill, to charge the *Corinthians* with so much authority,
'*to be of the same mind, and of the same judgment.* Might not
'some among the *Corinthians* have said to *Paul*, This is
'hard usage, this is to *rack a low man to the same length with*
'*a taller, and to cut a tall man to the stature of one that is low?*
'What, the *same judgement*? and the *same minde*? will not
'*Paul* allow *difference of lights and sights?* Might not some
'*one* among the *Corinthians* have said, What if I am of o-
'pinion that there is no resurrection, what hath *Paul* or a-
'ny man to do with that? it is my conscience, and it is my
'liberty, and what hath any man to do with my conscience
'more then I with his? might not *Hymæneus* have said,
'What if it be my Opinion, *that the Resurrection is past al-*
'*ready*, what hath *Paul* to do with that? Yes, saith *Paul*,

a *An Additionall Testimony of M. Nath: Newcomen Serm. at Pauls Feb. 8 1645. p. 12.*

« if ye perſiſt obſtinate I will Excommunicate you, *I will*
« *deliver you up to Satan, that you may learn not to Blaſpheme:*
« Certainly this ſhelter, this Aſylum of errour, falſely
« called *Liberty of Conſcience*, was not thought of in former
« times.

THus far theſe Famous Divines, whoſe very words I have tranſcribed, and that faithfully, never adding ſo much as one ſyllable of my own, unleſs in the Margin, where I have ſometimes taken a little Liberty.

I do much hope (upon a ſerious peruſall) you will confeſs theſe *Teſtimonies* both pertinent and convincing, and therefore I might here take occaſion to conſult my own eaſe, and your patience. But becauſe (as I have found by ſad experience) *Prejudices* are ſtrong, and evil *Habits* (which have been long in contracting) are not ſuddainly removed, (as an effectual *meanes* (through Gods bleſſing) of your farther *Conviction*) I ſhall intreat your peruſall of theſe following *Authorities*.

A LETTER

OF THE

Presbyterian Ministers in the City

OF

LONDON,

Presented the First of Jan. 1645. *to the Reverend Assembly of*

DIVINES,

Sitting at Westminster by Authority *of Parliament*

AGAINST

Toleration.

UMI

To Our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren, the Prolocutor, and the reſt of the Divines Aſſembled, and now ſitting at Weſtminſter, by Authority of Parliament: Theſe preſent.

Reverend and beloved Brethren,

WE are exceedingly apprehenſive of the deſirableneſs of our Churches Peace, and of the pleaſantneſs of Brethrens Unity, knowing that when Peace is ſet upon its proper Baſis, *viz*: Righteousneſſe and truth, it is one of the beſt Poſſeſſions, both delectable and profitable: like *Aaron*, ointment, and the dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reaſon of different lights, and different ſights among Brethren there may be diſſenting in Opinion; yet, (a) *why ſhould there be any ſeparating from Church-Communion?* The Churches Coat may be of diverſe colours, yet, why ſhould there be any rent in it? Have we not a Touch-ſtone of Truth, the good word of God; and when all things are examined by that word, then that which is beſt may be held faſt; but firſt they muſt be known, and then examined afterward. If our diſſenting Brethren after ſo many importunate intreaties would have been perſwaded (either in zeale to the truth, or in ſincere love to the Churches peace, and unity

a) *What is the keeping conventicles or private meetings but ſeparating from our Church communion.*

'nity among Brethren, or in respect to their own reputation by faire and ingenious dealing, or (*b*) *in Conscience to their promise made with the Ministers of London now five years since*, or any such like reasonable consideration) at last to have given us a full narrative of their Opinions, and Grounds of their Separation, we are perswaded they would not have stood at such a distance from us as now they do: But they chose rather to walk by their own private lights than to unbosome themselves to us their most affectionate Brethren; and to set themselves in an untroden way of their own, rather then to wait what our Covenanted Reformation, according to the word of God, and (*c*) *examples of the best reformed Churches* would bring forth. But the offence doth not end here, it is much that our Brethren should separate from the Church, but that they should endeavour (*d*) *to get a warrant to Authorize their Separation from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing members out of it) to weaken and diminish it, till (so far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing; this we think to be plainly unlawfull, yet this we understand is their present designe and endeavour.* Wherefore (Reverend Brethren) having had such large experience of your zeale of Gods glory, your care of his afflicted Church, your earnest endeavours to promote the compleat Reformation of it, and of your ready concurrence with us in the improvement of any means that might be found conducible to this end; we are bold to hint unto you these our ensuing Reasons against the Toleration of Independency in this Church.

1. 'The desires and endeavours of Independents for a 'Toleration, are at this time extreamly unseasonable and 'preproperous: for,

I. The

b) *Yet the Ministers of this perswasion made as little conscience of their Subscriptions, Promises, yea, Oaths of Canonicall Obedience to their respective Diocesans.*

c) *Shew us the example of one reformed Church which alloweth her Ministers libertynot to use her established Rites and Ceremonies.*

d) *This is plainly our Brethrens designe and endeavour at this time.*

I. 'The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected 'and setled amongst us, according to our Covenant. And 'why may not the Reformation be raised up at last, to 'such purity, and perfection, that truly tender Consciences may receive abundant satisfaction, for ought that yet 'appears?

2. 'It is not yet known, what the Government of the 'Independents is, neither would they ever yet vouchsafe 'to let the World know, what they hold in that point, 'though some of their Party have been too forward to 'challenge the *London* Petitioners, *as led with blind Obedience, and pinning their soules upon the* Priests *sleeve*, for desiring an establishment of the Government of Christ, before there was any Modell of it extant.

3. 'We can hardly be perswaded, that the Independents themselves (after all the stirs they have made amongst us) (e) *are as yet fully resolved about their own way, wherewith they would be concluded*, seeing they publish not their modell (though they are nimble enough in publishing other things) and they profess Reserves, and new Lights, for which they will (no doubt) expect the like Toleration, and so *in infinitum*. It were more seasonable to move for Toleration, when once *they are positively determined how far they mean to goe, and where they mean to stay.*

(e) The Presbyterians (although often pressed thereunto) will not declare wherewith they would be all concluded, how far they mean to goe, and where to stay in their desires of Toleration, and condescention.

II. 'Their desires and endeavours, are unreasonable, and unequall in divers regards.

1. 'Partly *because no such Toleration, hath hitherto been* 'established (so far as we know) *in any Christian State by the* 'Civil Magistrate.

2. (f) 'Partly, *because some of them have solemnly pro-* 'fest, *that they cannot suffer Presbytery*; and answerable here-

(f) It's notorious Presbytery would not in the late times tolerate Episcopacy.

'unto

'unto is their practise in those places where Independency pre-
'vailes.

3 'And partly because (g) to grant to them, and not to
'other Sectaries, who are free borne as well as they, and have
'done as good service as they to the Publick (as they use to
'plead) will be counted injustice and great Partiality; but to
'grant it unto all, will scarce be clear'd from great impie-
'ty.

III. 'Independency is a Schisme

1. (h) 'Independents do depart from our Churches and
'so acknowledg'd by themselves.

2. 'They draw and seduce our members from our Con-
'gregations.

3. (i) They erect separate Congregations, under a separate
'and undiscovered Government.

(k) 'They refuse Communion with our Churches in the
'Sacraments.

5. 'Their Ministers refuse to preach among us as Of-
'ficers.

6. 'Their members, if at any time they joyne with us
'in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not as with
'the Ministeriall Word and Prayer, nor as the Acts of Church
'Communion

(l) Now we judge that no Schisme is to be Tolera-
'ted in the Church *σχίσματα 1 Cor: 1. 10. 1 Cor: 12. 25.
'*διχοστασίας Rom: 6. 17. with 1 Cor. 3 3. Gal: 5 20.

IV. (m) *Many mischiefes will inevitably follow upon

g) To grant indulgence unto a few, would offend many more of all Parties.

Why may not Independents, and all other Sectaries, desire the same favour, in case they provide Readers or Churches.

(h) Ye already do, & (in case your Tolera tion be granted) will draw our members from our Congregations, which

ye acknowledge true Churches. (i) Ye do in effect set up Separate Churches. (k) Ye receive not the Sacraments (except some few) in our Churches but at private meetings, * Schismes. * Divisions. (l) No Schisme is to be Tolerated. as ye grant. But Presbytery is a Schisme Now, as much as Independency was by you declared to be Then. Therefore, (according to your own grounds) it is not to be Tolerated. (m) The same would follow if Presbytery were Tolerated.

'this

'this Toleration, and that both to Church and Common-'wealth.

First to the Church, as,

1. 'Causeless and unjust revolts from our Ministry, and 'Congregations.

2. 'Our Peoples minds will be troubled, and in danger to 'be subverted, as Acts 15. 24.

3. 'Bitter heart-burnings among Brethren, will be fo-'mented and perpetuated to Posterity.

4. 'The Godly, painfull, Orthodox Ministry, will be dis-'couraged and despised.

5, The life and power of Godlinesse will be eaten out by fri-'volous disputes, and vaine janglings.

6. 'The whole course of Religion in private Families, will 'be interrupted and undermined.

7. 'Reciprocall Duties between persons of neareſt and dea-'reſt Relations will be extreamly violated.

8. 'The whole work of Reformation, especially in Disci-'pline and Government will be retarded, disturbed, and in 'danger of being utterly frustrate and void, whilest every per-'son shall have liberty, upon every triviall discontent at Pres-'byteriall Goverment and Churches, to revolt from us, and 'list themselves in separated Congregations.

9. 'All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdome will be 'encouraged to endeavour the like Toleration.

10. All other Sects and Heresies in the Kingdome will 'safeguard and shelter themselves under the wings of Indepen-'dency, and some of the Independents in their Books, have o-'penly avowed, that they plead for Liberty of Conscience as well 'for others as for themselves.

11. 'And the whole Church of England, in short time will 'be swallowed up with destruction and confusion. And God is

'not the Author of confusion but of peace. 1. Cor: 14. 33.

'Secondly to the Commonwealth. for,

1. 'All these mischiefs in the Church will have their proportionable influence upon the Commonwealth.

2. 'The Kingdome will be wofully weakned by scandalls 'and Divisions; so that the enemies of it, both domesticall and 'forreign, will be encouraged to plot and practice against it.

3. It is much to be doubted, lest the power of the Magistrate, 'should not onely be weakened, but even utterly overthrowne, 'considering the Principles and practices of Independents, together with their compliance with other Sectaries, sufficiently (a) 'knowne to be Anti-Magistraticall.

(b) V. 'Such a Toleration is utterly repugnant and inconsistent with that solemn League and Covenant, for 'Reformation and defence of Religion, which not only 'both houses of Parliament, but also persons of all sorts 'in both Kingdoms of England and Scotland, have subscribed, and with hands lifted up to the most high God 'have sworn: (a) which Covenant likewise, both you, 'and we, and those that most earnestly pursue the establishment of Toleration, have made (or should have 'made) in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all 'hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as we shall 'answer at the Great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be 'discloſed. For,

1. 'This is oppoſite to the Reformation of Religion, accord-

a) And are not Presbytarian principles known to be so too.

b) And as inconsistent with other Oaths imposed by Lawfull Authority, which that was not.

a) Which Oaths have been taken by most of the chief sticklers for Toleration, and with a True intention (it was hoped) to performe the same.

'ing

ing to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed ‘ *Churches, Article* 1.

2. (n) ‘ *It is destructive to the three Kingdomes neareſt* ‘ *conjunction and uniformity in Religion and Government, which* ‘ *might lead us and our poſterity after us as Brethren to live* ‘ *in faith and Love Art.* 1.

3. (o) ‘ *It is plainly contrary to that extirpation of Schiſme* ‘ *and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine,* ‘ *and the Power of Godlineſſe, which we have ſworne ſincerely,* ‘ *really, and conſtantly to endeavour without reſpect of per-* ‘ *ſons.*

4. (p) ‘ *Hereby we ſhall be involved in the guilt of other* ‘ *mens ſins, and thereby be endangered to receive of their* ‘ *Plagues Art.* 2.

5. *It ſeems utterly impoſſible (if ſuch Toleration ſhould be* ‘ *granted) that the Lord ſhould be one, and his name one in the* ‘ *three Kingdomes. Art,* 2.

6. ‘ *This will palpably hinder the Reformation of Reli-* ‘ *gion, inevitably divide one Kingdome from another, and* ‘ *unhappily make factions and parties among the People con-* ‘ *trary to this League and Covenant; of which evil offi-* ‘ *ces, whoſoever ſhall be found guilty, are reputed in the* ‘ *Words of the Covenant* (q) *Incendiaries, Malignants*

n) *The Toleration of Presbytery is no leſs deſtructive to the conjunction and uniformity of all the three Kingdomes then Independency.*

o) *Seeing Presbytery is as much a Schiſme from Epiſcopacy, as Epiſcopacy or independency was from Presbytery, why do they now, in ſtead of extirpation, deſire the Toleration of it, contrary to your Covenant.*

(p) *Toleration of Schiſme vendreth Magiſtrates and Miniſters acceſſary to the Errours, Sins, and Deſtruction of ſeduced and deluded People.* (q) *The Toleration of deformity, even in little Matters, ſometimes cauſeth factions and parties amongſt the People. Let Us have a care we be not Incendiaries, or evill Inſtruments for Sacrilegious ſpirits to work by ill affected as well to Presbytery as Epiſcopacy*

'*Malignants and evill Inſtruments, to be diſcovered, that they may be brought to publick triall, and receive condigne puniſhment. Art. 4. & 5.*

'Theſe are ſome of the many Conſiderations, which make deep impreſſions upon our ſpirits, againſt that great *Diana* of Independents, and all the Sectaries ſo much cryed up by them in theſe diſtracted times, *viz.* A Toleration, a Toleration. And however, none ſhould have more rejoyced then our ſelves in the eſtabliſhment of a Brotherly, Peaceable, and Chriſtian accommodation; yet this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot diſſemble how upon the fore-mentioned grounds, we deteſt and abhor the much endeavoured Toleration. Our Bowels, our Bowels are ſtirred within us, and we could even Drowne our ſelves in Tears, when we call to mind, how long, and ſharp a travell this Kingdom hath been in for many years together, to bring forth that bleſſed fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation; and now at laſt after all our pangs, and dolours, and expectations, this Reall and through Reformation, is in danger of being ſtrangled in the Birth, by a lawleſs Toleration, that ſtrives to be brought forth before it.

'Wherefore (Reverend and Beloved Brethren) we could not ſatisfy our ſelves, till we had made ſome diſcovery of our Thoughts unto you about this matter; not that we can harbour the leaſt jealouſy of your zeale, fidelity, or induſtry in the oppoſing, and extirpating of ſuch a root of gall and bitterneſs, as Toleration is and will be, both in preſent and future Ages; but that we may what lies in us, endeavour mutually to ſtrengthen one anothers reſolutions, againſt the preſent growing e-

'vills,

'vills, and that our Conſciences, may not ſmite us ano-
'ther day for ſinfull ſilence, or ſluggiſh deficiency in any
'point of Duty, tending to the glory of Chriſt, Honour
'of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Refor-
'mation, Performance of our Covenant, and Benefit of
'preſent and ſucceeding Generations.

From Sion-Colledge
Lond. Decemb.
18. 1645.

Subſcribed by Us *your Affectionate Brethren, and Fellow-labourers in the work of the Miniſtry, to whom Truth and Peace is very pretious.*

The Judgement of King *JAMES* and His Privy-Council againſt

Toleration.

Tranſcribed verbatim out of Judge Crooks *Reports. Term. Mich: Anno* 2. Jacobi *Parag.* 13. *Part.* 2. *p.* 37.

MEmorandum, that by command from the King, 'all the Juſtices of England, with diverſe of 'the Nobility *viz.* The Lord *Elleſmere* Lord 'Chancelor, the Earle of *Dorſet* Lord Trea-'ſurer, Vicount *Cranbourne* Principall Secretary, the 'Earle of *Nottingham* Lord Admirall, the Earles of 'Northumberland, *Worceſter*, *Devon*, and *Northampton*, 'the Lords *Zouch*, *Burghley*, and *Knowles*, the Chancel-'lor of the *Dutchy*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the 'Biſhop of *London*, *Popham* chief Juſtice, *Bruce* Maſter 'of the *Rolls*, *Anderſon*, *Gawdy*, *Walmeſly*, *Fenner*, *Kings-'mill*, *Warberton*, *Savill*, *Daniell*, *Yelverton*, and *Snigg*, 'were aſſembled in the Star Chamber; where the Lord 'Chancellor, after a long Speech made by him, concern-'ing Juſtices of Peace, and his Exhortation to the Juſtices 'of Aſſize; and in diſcourſe concerning Papiſts and Puri-'tans,

'tans, Declaring how they both were disturbers of the 'State, and that the King intended to suppress them, and 'to have the Laws put in execution against them, Deman-'ded of the Justices their Resolution in three things.

'First, Whether the Deprivation of Puritan Mini-'sters by the High Commissioners, for refusing to Con-'forme themselves to the Ceremonies appointed by 'the last Canons, was Lawfull? Whereto all the Justices 'answered.

'That they had conferred thereof before, and held it to 'be lawfull, Because the King hath the Supream Eccle-'siasticall Power, which he hath Delegated to the Com-'missioners, whereby they had the Power of Deprivation, 'by the Canon Law of the Realm, and the Statute of 1. 'Eliz. which appoints Commissioners to be made by the 'Queen, doth not confer any new Power, but explain and 'declare the ancient Power. And therefore they held it 'clear, That the King without Parliament might make 'Orders and Constitutions for the Government of the 'Clergy, and might deprive them, if they obeyed not; 'And so the Commissioners might deprive them. But 'they could not make any Constitutions without the King, 'and the divulging of such Ordinances by Proclamation is 'a most gratious Admonition; And for as much as they 'have refused to obey, they are lawfully deprived by the 'Commissioners *ex Officio* without Libell *Et ore tenus* 'convocati.

'Secondly, Whether a Prohibition be grantable against 'the Commissioners upon the Statute of 2. *H.* 5. if they do 'not deliver the Copy of the Libell to the Party; whereto 'they all Answered, That that Statute is intended where 'the Ecclesiasticall Judge proceeds, *Ex officio & ore tenus.*

'Thirdly

'Thirdly, Whether it were an offence punishable, and 'what punishment they deserved, who framed Petitions, 'and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer the 'King in a publick cause as the *Puritans* had done, with an 'Intimation to the King, That if he denyed their Suite, 'many Thousands of the Subjects would be discontented? 'Whereto all the Justices answered, that it was an of-'fence finable at discretion, and very neer to Treason and 'Felony in the punishment, for they tended to the raising 'of Sedition, Rebellion and discontent among the People: 'To which Resolution all the Lords agreed and then many 'of the Lords declared.

'That some of the *Puritans* had raised a false Rumour 'of the King, how he intended to grant a *Toleration* to Pa-'pists: which offence the Justices conceived to be heinous-'ly finable by the Rules of the Common Law, either in the 'Kings Bench, or by the King and his Councill: or now 'since the Statute of 3. H. 7. in the Star-Chamber. And 'the Lords severally declared how the King was discon-'tented, with the said false Rumour, and had made but 'the day before a Protestation unto them, That he never 'intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of 'blood in his body before he would do it; and prayed that 'before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religi-'on then what he truly professed and maintained, that God 'would take them out of the World.

VOTES &c.

OF THE

Honourable Houſe of

COMMONS *Feb.* 5. *&c.* 1662.

Upon Reading His Majeſties Gratious
Declaration and Speech &c.

Die Mercurii 25. *Feb.* 15. *Car. R.*

Reſolved &c. *Nemine contradicente,*
That the humble Thanks of this Houſe, be returned to His Majeſty, for his Reſolution to Maintain the Act of Vniformity.

Reſolved &c.

That it be preſented to the Kings Majeſty, as the Humble Advice of the Houſe, That no Indulgence be granted to the diſſenters from the Act of Vniformity.

Moſt Gratious Soveraigne,

THe Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, of the Commons houſe of Parliament, did with great joy receive your Maje-

'most Gratious Speech, at the opening this Session of Par-
'liament: And being thereby invited to consider of their
'Declaration of the Twenty sixth of December last; they
'have with all Sobriety, Duty, and Affection, examined
'the grounds thereof, and do by me present unto your Ma-
'jesty their most hearty Thanks for the same, and humble
'Advice thereupon; both which, I do beseech your Ma-
'jesty, that you will vouchsafe me to deliver in their own
'words.

'May it please your most excellent Majesty,

'Wee your Majesties most Dutifull and Loyall Sub-
'jects, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of
'Commons in Parliament Assembled, having with all fi-
'delity and obedience considered of the severall matters
'comprized in your Majesties late Gratious Declaration
'of the 26 of Decemb. last, and your most gratious Speech
'at the beginning of this present Session,

'Do in the first place for our selves, and in the names
'of all the Commons of England, render to your Sacred
'Majesty, the Tribute of our most hearty Thanks for that
'infinite Grace and Goodness, wherewith your Majesty
'hath been pleased to publish your Royall intentions,
'of adhering to your Act of Indempnity and Oblivion,
'by a constant and Religious observance of it. And
'our hearts are further enlarged in these returnes of
'Thanksgivings when we consider your Majesties most
'Princely, and Heroick Professions of relying upon the
'Affections of your people, and abhorring all sort of mi-
'litary and arbitrary Rule. But above all wee can never
'enough remember, to the honour of your Majesties Pi-
'ety, and our unspeakable Comfort, those solemne and
'endearing Invitations of us your Majesties Subjects

'to

'to prepare Lawes to be presented to your Majesty, a-
'gainst the growth and encrease of Popery; and withall to
'provide more Laws against Licentiousness and impiety, at
'the same time declaring your own Resolutions for main-
'taining the Act of Uniformity.

'And it becomes us alwaies to acknowledge and ad-
'mire your Majesties Wisdome in this your Declaration,
'whereby your Majesty is pleased to resolve, not only by
'sumptuary *Laws*, but by your own Royall example of
'frugality, to restrain that excess in mens expences, which
'is grown so generall, and so exorbitant; and to direct our
'endeavours, to find out fit, & proper *Laws* for advance-
'ment of Trade and Commerce.

'After all this we most humbly beseech your Majesty
'to beleive, That it is with extream unwillingness and re-
'luctancy of heart, that we are brought to differ from any
'thing which your Majesty hath thought fit to propose;
'And though we do no way doubt, but that the unreaso-
'nable distempers of mens spirits, and the many Muti-
'nies and Conspiracies which were carried on, during the
'late intervalls of *Parliament*, did reasonably incline your
'Majesty to endeavour by your declaration, to give some
'allay to those ill humours, till the *Parliament* Assem-
'bled and the hopes of indulgence, if the Parliament
'should consent to it, especially seeing the pretenders to
'this indulgence, did seem to make some titles to it, by
'vertue of your Majesties Declaration from *Breda*. Ne-
'vertheless, we your Majesties most Dutifull and *Loyall*
'Subjects, who are now returned to serve in *Parliament*
'from those severall parts and places of your Kingdome,
'for which we are chosen, Do humbly offer to your Ma-
'jesties great VVisdome, That it is in no sort advisable,

'that

'that there be any indulgence to such persons, who pre-
'sume to dissent from the Act of Uniformity, and the Re-
'ligion established.

For these Reasons,

'We have considered the Nature of your Majesties
'Declaration from *Breda*, and are humbly of Opinion,
'That your Majesty ought not to be pressed with it any
'farther,

'Because it is not a promise in it self, but only a Gra-
'tious Declaration of your Majesties Intentions, to doe
'what in you lay, and what a Parliament should advise
'your Majesty to doe; and no such Advice was ever gi-
'ven, or thought fit to be offered; nor could it be other-
'wise understood, because there were Laws of Uniformi-
'ty then in being, which could not be dispensed with, but
'by Act of Parliament.

'They who do pretend a right to that supposed promise,
'put the Right into the hands of their Representatives,
'whom they chose to serve for them in this Parliament,
'who have passed, and your Majesty consented to the Act
'of Uniformity. If any shall presume to say, that a right
'to the benefit of this Declaration doth still remain after
'this Act passed,

'It tends to dissolve the very Bonds of Goverment, and
'to suppose a disability in your Majesty and the Houses
'of Parliament to make a *Law* contrary to any part of
'your Majesties Declaration, though both Houses should
'advise your Majesty to it.

'We have also considered the nature of the Indulgence
'proposed, with reference to those consequences, which
'must necessarily attend it.

'It will establish *Schisme* by a *Law*, and make the
'whole

'whole Government of the Church precarious, and the 'Cenſures of it of no moment or Conſideration at all.

'It will no way become the Gravity or Wiſdome of a 'Parliament, to paſſe a Law at one Seſſion for Uniformity, 'and at the next Seſſion (the Reaſons of Uniformity con-'tinuing ſtill the ſame) to paſſe another Law to fruſtrate 'or weaken the execution of it.

'It will expoſe your Majeſty to the reſtleſſe importuni-'ty of every Sect or Opinion, and of every ſingle Perſon 'alſo, who ſhall preſume to diſſent from the Church of '*England*.

'It will be a cauſe of increaſing Sects and Sectaries, 'whoſe numbers will weaken the true Proteſtant *Profeſſi*-'on ſo far, that it will at leaſt be difficult for it, to defend 'it ſelf againſt them: And which is yet farther Conſidera-'ble, thoſe Numbers which by being troubleſome to the 'Government, find they can arrive to an Indulgence, will 'as their Numbers increaſe, be yet more troubleſome, 'that ſo at length they may arrive to a generall Toleration, 'which your Majeſty hath declared againſt, and in time 'ſome prevalent Sect, will at laſt contend for an eſtabliſh-'ment, which for ought can be foreſeen, may end in *Po*-'pery.

'It is a thing altogether without precedent, and will 'take away all means of Convicting Recuſants, and be in-'conſiſtent with the Method and proceedings of the *Laws* 'of *England*.

'*Laſtly* it is humbly conceived, that the Indulgence pro-'pos'd will be ſo far from tending to the peace of the 'Kingdom, that it is rather likely to occaſion great di-'ſturbance. And on the contrary; That the aſſerting of the '*Lawes*, and the Religion eſtabliſh't, according to the

'*Act*

'*Act* of *Vniformity*, is the moſt probable means to pro-
'duce a ſettled Peace and Obedience throughout your
'Kingdome: Becauſe the variety of Profeſſions in Reli-
'gion, when openly divulged, doth directly diſtinguiſh men
'into parties, and withall gives them opportunity to count
'their numbers; which conſidering the animoſities that
'out of a Religious Pride will be kept on foot by the ſeve-
'rall factions, doth tend directly and inevitably to open
'diſturbance.

Nor can your Majeſty have any Security, that the *Do-*
'ctrine or Worſhip of the ſeverall Factions, which are all
'governed by a ſeverall Rule, ſhall be conſiſtent with the
'Peace of your Kingdome.

'And if any perſons ſhall preſume to diſturb the peace
'of the Kingdome, We do in all humility declare, That
'we will for ever, and in all Occaſions, be ready with our
'utmoſt endeavour and Aſſiſtance, to adhere to and ſerve
'Your Majeſty according to our bounden Duty and
'Allegiance.

My Brethren,

I Have now given you my Authorities, *viz.*

1. The private Teſtimonies of twenty eminent Divines.

2. The publick Teſtimony of the Presbyterian Miniſters in the City of *London* (Synodically) met at *Sion* Colledge.

3. The Authority of that Wiſe, and Learned King *James* and his Privy Councill.

4. The Votes and Reaſons of the Honourable Commons Aſſembled in this preſent Parliament.

All which I have deſignedly ranked in this method, that obſerving the *order* of *nature*, and beginning *ab imperfectiori*, I might gradually aſcend to that which is more *perfect*; for ſuch I think the Reaſons of the *Houſe* will be found; (to him that dares attempt them) *i. e.* Impregnable and unanſwerable.

I Know not how it fares with other men, (I am no judge of their *honeſty* or *Knowledge*) but I am ſure, as to me the premiſes have appeared ſo con-

ſiderable, I ſhould think the world might ſuſpect either *my Intellectualls*, or *Moralls*, were I not *thus* apprehenſive of ſo convincing a Light.

My Brethren, (that I may deal freely with you) I am perfectly amaz'd, and (I had almoſt ſaid) ſcandaliz'd; that *men* ſo eminent for *Learning*, ſo noted for *Piety*, and (if we may beleive themſelves it being one of their grand Topickes for Indulgence) ſo conſiderable for *Policy*, I ſay, that theſe men ſhould ſo warmely concerne *themſelves* for this *Thing* call'd *Toleration*, which (as I hope the premiſes have evinc'd) is not onely *deſtructive* both to Church & State, but alſo (which prudent men would a little conſider) ſo directly *contrary* to their former *Principles* & *Practices*.

I am very unwilling to make any unpleaſing Reflections, but 'tis the Language of the world (and I am not yet inſtructed to confute it) that it is not a *Toleration*, (however pretended, as the the moſt advantageous method, that can at *preſent* be employ'd) but a *Reformation*, (that is, (as ſad experience hath explained it) a totall *Extirpation* of what ever is contrary to their humours and deſignes) that each different *Partie* endeavours to eſtabliſh.

Now

Now that this may not be rejected as a ſlandering *deſigne*, onely to make you odious to *Authoritie*, (as is commonly objected) there are ſeverall Reaſons (at leaſt ſtrong conjectures) that ſeeme highly to enforce the formentioned *Charge*.

I am willing to conclude; and ſhall *therefore* give you my notions in *groſſe*, leaving the Analyſis to your acuter Judgements.

There are you know ſuch things in the world, as a *Jus Divinum* of ſome one Forme of Government, and a *Solemne League and Covenant*; both which as being directly contrary to your pretended *Toleration*, (had I but the leyſure or ability to improve them) might eaſily be reſolved into Volume of Arguments.

But leaving this performance (if occaſion ſhall require) to the management of ſome abler Pen, permit me very calmely to beg your *Reſolution* to this following Propoſall.

Were *you* in the ſame Condition, (*i. e.*) did *you* enjoy the ſame encourageing Circumſtances, that your Adverſaries, the true Sons of the Church of England (through Gods great mercy and the Indulgence of a gratious *Prince*) are at preſent favoured with; *then* lay your hands upon

your breasts, and tell me, as in the Presence of the great God that shall judge the world; Whether would you then indulge either Person or Parties, that should dissent from your established Discipline, be it *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or any other whatsoever: (*e.g.*) Whether would you then permit *that Minister* to preach publickly, that should *read the Service of our Church, weare a Surplisse, use the Crosse in Baptisme, Kneel at the Sacrament*, &c: *and not* onely so, but the utmost of whose endeavours should be employ'd in perswading others to the like practices, telling them that the contrary (by you observed) was irreverent and undecent, and therefore of all good Christians to be loath'd and abhorr'd, I say tell me *plainly*; Is it fit to grant a *Toleration* and *Indulgence* to such a Person or no? if not, then (even your selves being judges) neither is it fit to *Tolerate* you, since *your* Principles and Practices are as distant from *his* (I mean the true Sons of the Church of England) as his from *yours*, as destructive to his, as his to yours: and *it is unreasonable* (says the defender of the *London* Ministers Letter to the Assembly) *that Independents should desire that Toleration from Presbyters, which they would not give*

Ant. Tolerat. p. 16.

to

to Presbyters; so say I, it is unreasonable that Independents, Presbyters, or any other Sect should desire that Toleration from Episcopacy, which they would not grant to Episcopacy. *For with what face can I desire a courtesie from him, to whom I do openly professe, I would deny the same Courtesie.*

But now if you take the other member of the *Contradiction*, and say, *you would tolerate the forementiond Person*, supposeing him otherwise of a quiet, and peacable temper; let me then desire you further to resolve me. *Are you perswaded, That the Church of England requires any thing Sinfull as the condition of her Communion or not?* if you say, *shee does not* (*I* am no little troubled to mention it, but theres no evasion) *I* must plainly tell you, you are no better then downright Schismaticks; for *Schisme* in the proper notion of it is nothing *else*, but a *causeles Separation from that part of the visible Church of which we were members*: now there is no sufficient cause for such *Separation* but * *Sin*; it being the judgement of our best writers upon that Controversie, that nothing else could warrant our Separation from *Rome* but this; that she required as Conditions of her Communion somewhat in *fide* erroneous, or in *facto* impious.

* *Unless there be something which is sinfull required as the Condition of our Communion, it appears to me to be Schisme to withdraw our selves.* Def: of Propos p. 91.

But

But if you are perſwaded (and ſome of you have declared it) *that ſhe does require ſomething which is ſinfull, as the Condition of her Communion*, then the Caſe is cleare; the Make falls of; and I have finiſhed my Taske; for, ſince all *Sin* is confeſſedly the object, not only of our hatred and *averſation*, but alſo of totall extirpation (it being every ones duty not only to avoid Sin himſelfe, but (by all lawfull waies and methods) to hinder its Commiſſion in others) I ſhall humbly leave it to his moſt ſacred *Majeſtie* and the Wiſdome of the *Parliament* to Conſider;

VVhether it be either *Religion*, or *Policie* to tolerate thoſe Perſons, or Parties, which are perſwaded in their Conſciences, that it is a neceſſarie incumbent Dutie, not onely to hate and deteſt, but alſo (by all thoſe waies and methods which they themſelves ſhall think lawfull) to weaken, alter, & extirpate the ſettled Government of the *Church*? the which Alteration, what influence it may have upon the *State*, and how Deſtructive it may prove to his Majeſties Crown and Kingdomes, (I hope it is no breach of the Act of Oblivion to tell *you*) the experience of late *years* hath ſuggeſted a very fatall conjecture.

FINIS.

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